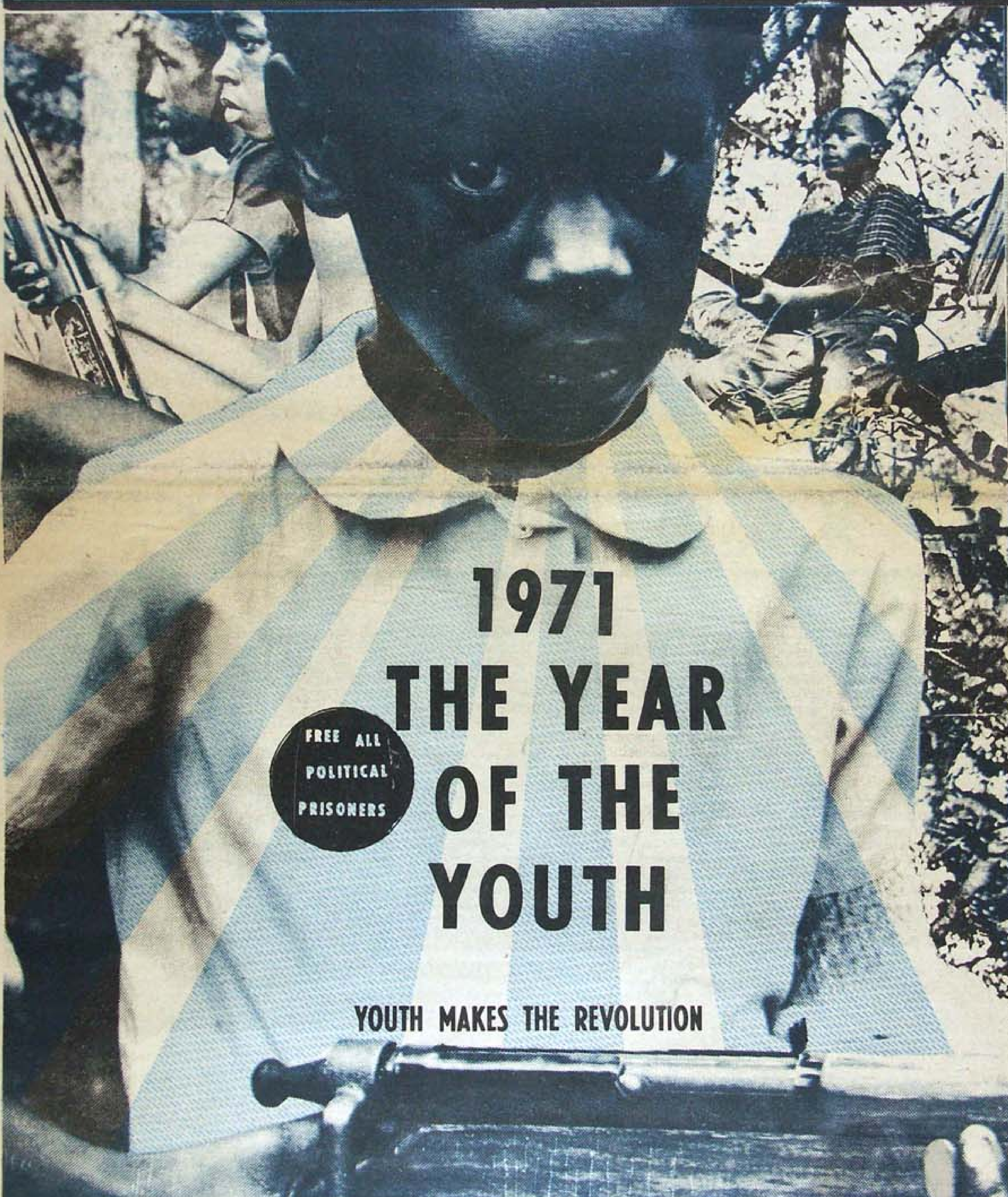
THE BLACK PANTHER

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MICHAEL TABOR, POLITICAL PRISONER
$50,000 BAIL REVOKED

Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor is one of 13 N. Y. Panthers currently on trial for conspiracy to bomb N.Y. city pig departments and other municipal buildings. After 16 months of incarceration on these charges, Cetewayo was released last August on $50,000 bail. The trial has been in progress since September 8th, and Cetewayo, along with sister Afeni Shakur, is acting as his own attorney. Tuesday, December 29th the presiding fascist, Judge Murtaugh, revoked and forfeited Cetewayo's bail and remanded him back to jail.

Forty-five minutes before court had convened the office of one of the N.Y. Panther attorneys had informed the court clerk that Cetewayo would be absent due to illness. When the trial proceedings started, the judge, disregarding the excuse, issued a bench warrant for Cetewayo's arrest. When he issued the bench warrant, Murtaugh said that if Michael Tabor was not present at 2 p.m. when court reconvened, the other 3 defendants who are free ($100,000 bail each) would be reincarcerated.



MICHAEL "CETEWAYO" TABOR

That afternoon, Cetewayo, appeared in court with a written explanation of his illness from his doctor. The judge after reading the explanation that diagnosed the illness as acute asthma and recommended constant medication and at least the next 24 hours in bed, refused to accept the excuse.

At this point Cetewayo made the following statement in his behalf: "The whole omnipotent record of this entire trial that you are always so interested in reflecting, reflects that you have conducted yourself in the manner of a vile foul, fascist, swine pig. And it comes as no surprise that you are taking your present course of action. As to your disbelief of my illness, I could care less about that. We expect this. No, I don't want to proceed today. I am sick. As a matter of fact. I will not proceed today. I hold you responsible for what happens. This is not a threat. Let the record show that it is not a threat; it is just a statement of reality. As to your statement yesterday, we don't want you to error on the side of charity in our behalf. Compassion, we don't expect from you. Mercy, we don't expect from you.

We don't expect justice of any kind. Your total disregard for any rights we are suppose to have..." Judge Murtaugh interrupts, saying, "The defendant Tabor will be removed from the courtroom."

Cetewayo replied, "The defendant Tabor will walk out of the courtroom."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Black Panther Party

N.Y. 21 TRIAL REPORT

The trial of the New York 21 continued on Monday Dec. ember 21st. The original 21 has been reduced to 13 panthers who are presently on trial and 9 of them are still in jail. These 9 all brothers, have been in jail for over 20 months. (Two sisters and two brothers are out on ransom). The captured Panthers now standing trial have undergone various delays designed to lower their revolutionary spirit and weaken their courageous stand against the courts of the rich and 'Politically Privileged.

These delays in the past either originated from the obvious attempts by the courts to swiftly railroad the Panthers on trial by various tactics such as; setting off trial dates 30 days after arrest heard of in cases involving charges of such proportions as conspiracy to commit murder and, arson etc.) Or the play used by Judge Murtagh; who during the pretrial hearings earlier this year indefinitely postponed all proceedings until the Panthers on trial agreed to 'behave' in court.

Of course it was never mentioned that up until then (Feb., March of 1970) that the Panthers were denied every alleged Constitutional right under the so called American Constitution. It was not mentioned that until they were accorded certain human rights such as decent jail conditions and certain social rights, as the right to adequate legal assistance, reasonable bail, a jury of their peer group the right to face their accusors, instead of being kidnapped on secret orders handed down in the dead of night by decripit racists, that they would not consent voluntarily to their own legalistic hanging.

Therefore to consent to the dictates of an obvious fascist such as Murtagh would in fact be consenting to one's own execution.

All this points to the fact that the evidence presented in the actual trial, up to date does not in any way substantiate or present a basis for all of the injustices inflicted on these brothers and sisters over the past 20 months.

The testimony of Gene Roberts, Pig infiltrater did not provide any concrete evidence. Gene Roberts himself stated that noone agreed to bomb anything, nor were any orders given to do so, nor, was any date set to do anything.

Roberts' obvious admissions on their own constituted nothing more than assumptions, presumptions hearsay and 3rd and 4th hand infermation. The questions now are why have members of the '21' been freed of astronomical bail sums of $100,000 or why are the others still being kept in jail ?

On the 21st Roberts ended his long testimony under Panther Defense cross-examination. The two Panthers who are their own attorneys Michael Tabor and Afeni Shakur) did not ask Pig Roberts any questions. There was obviously no need to, as he could shed very little light on exactly why D.A. Hogan saw fit to label these courageous brothers and sisters as arch terrorists, ready to blow up buildings and murder the masses of the people over the Easter of 1969.

Pig Prosecutor Phillips tried to discredit the Defense actions, by using the courts (Murtaugh's) bias in his behalf. The court obliged the Prosecution in this respect by attacking Defense Attorneys and sighting their cross-examination 'as 'contemptious of the court'. At one point Judge Murtagh went as far as taking over the Prosecution's job and entered various pregudicial statements into the record as well as placing objections and sustaining them in order to stop certain questions from being answered.

On the 22nd, Tuesday. The trial continued. This time D.A. Phillips sought to gain admission of certain alleged 'evidence' seized from Eddie Jamal Joseph's home on April 2nd 1969. Jamal is one of the Panthers who was arrested in the fascist pre-down raids launched throughout New York City, in April 1969, when the homes of 18 Panthers were illegally entered, their families threatened, harassed and in some cases even arrested. Jamal is not presently on trial. Due to his age (17 years) he and another defendant, Lonnie Epps were given 'youthful offender treatment and their trial will be after the present farce has ended. Therefore, Phillips' attempts to enter anything supposedly seized from Jamal's home, is not only a means of convicting someone who cannot defend himself, but is obviously a vile attempt designed to convict those on trial with evidence they cannot even legally contest or oppose because they have no 'legal' rights to do so.

This is just another tactic the racist courts utilize in their attempts to railroad the Panthers under the disguise of 'Justice'. Justice for the rich is injustice for the poor.

Phillips also sought and, succeeded, in entering as evidence pictures of a suitecase with dynamite. This is classical of all evidence presented so far in this case by the Pig Prosecution. Using pictures of dynamite as a substitution for actual dynamite and buttress this ridiculous proposition with a fantastic Mod Squad Story, of a Nigger Agent Ralph White, (who allegedly switched dynamite in an anti-poverty office with an unsuspecting Panther plotter). This truly shows the desperation of the ruling Pigs and their State machine. We can see from our position as members of an oppressed community that we need not harbour any illusions as to the true nature of those who determine the laws in order to keep us in a permanent state of oppression.

Democracy and justice become abstract to the masses when seperated from social practice, when seen in actuality it becomes quite obvious to us, that Democracy for the privileged class means the right of that class and / or group, to exploit the less privileged and oppressed groups. Then Justice becomes relative, or, is in proportion to what class or group you are a member of. Therefore it is acceptable to present pictures of dynamite, instead of real dynamite when trying members of the oppressed class. It is our right to throw off the chains of exploitation and racism by throwing off our mental restraints injected into our minds and overthrowing these vile exploiters and their laws of oppression. Only then will there be justice.

Only when the communities of the world rise up as one and institute laws made by, for and in the service of the people will there be justice. Farcical trials like the Panther 21 will not exist. Instead these revolutionaries will be free to help the rest of the communities of the world in realising true intercommunalism.

Power to the People
Richard 'Dharuba Moore
New York 21
East Coast Ministry

THE TRIAL OF ERICKA HUGGINS & BOBBY SEALE



Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins.-political prisoners

Daily Report # 22
December 18, 1970
Jan VonFlatern

Eight Panel Depleted; No New Jurors

In a half-day session today, the remaining 14 members of panel # 9 were examined and excused. Those dismissed:

-because of prejudice against the defendants or the party

-because of exposure to pre-trial publicity

-because of hardship

-because they did not fully accept the 'presumption of innocence' principle

-by defense preemptory challenge

The defense now has used 26 of their 60 challenges; the prosecution has used 13.

Daily Report # 23
December 21, 1970

Juror # 4

The ninth panel of juror candidates was sworn in and instructed today. Of the 45 or so people, 1 was Black. 30 people were questioned today and, finally, one was chosen. Those excused:

-because of prejudice against the Party or the defendants

-because of exposure to pre-trial publicity

-because of hardship

-because they would always tend to believe a cop over a lay person

-because of trouble accepting the 'presumption of innocence' principle

-by defense challenge

-by prosecution challenge

The defense has now used 28 peremptories, the prosecution, 15. The defense was forced to use challenges on a middle aged white man who didn't seem too clear on the presumption of innocence, and on a middle aged white woman who said, among other things, 'I think they stand for dissension. And in this great country of ours, I can't see it.' Markle spent two of his challenges; one on a white man who didn't dig the death penalty, and one on the only Black on the panel who said, 'I don't know a police officer in town. I don't have no dealings with them, and they don't have none with me' The beautiful elderly woman said, 'Wish you luck' as she passed Ericka and Bobby.

The juror chosen is a young white woman who is a graduate student at the University of Hartford. She has worked in child welfare in New Haven, and plans to do so again when she finishes school. She lives in Waterbury. She joins three others to make up the jury so far--a middle aged Black woman, a middle-aged white man and an elderly Black man.

ERICKA AND BOBBY PUT THE STATE ON TRIAL

by Jan von Flatern
Liberation News Service

BRIDGEPORT, Conn. (LNS)--One day a week for a little while, the tables will turn on the State of Connecticut; it will be the defendant, answering the charges of Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale. Among those named in a lawsuit directed against the Department of Corrections are Janet York, director of the Niantic Prison for Women, where Ericka has been held for 18 months; Arnold Markle, the state's attorney prosecuting Ericka and Bobby in New Haven; and Ellis Macdougall, Connecticut's Commissioner of Corrections.

Ericka and Bobby are speaking out for all prisoners when they charge that they are being denied their basic human rights while being held in Connecticut's camps.

On Monday, Dec. 14, the proceedings began. The courtroom in Bridgeport, Conn., is more than twice the size of the one used in New Haven for the trial itself. The audience of nearly 100 contained old people, young people, Black and white. There was a nun, innumerable lawyers, and of course, the ever-present 'undercover' pigs. A small child, beautifully oblivious to courtroom decorum, shouted 'Hi, Bobby !' as the defendants entered. Small children are not allowed in the New Haven courtroom.

Ericka took the stand. Under direct examination by her lawyer, Catherine Roraback, she spoke of the life she leads as an unsentenced, untried prisoner. She is allowed to see and correspond only with her lawyer and with those related to her by blood ties. Even family members must be 'approved'--for example, only female cousins are allowed.

She began to tell of the restrictions placed upon her reading and writing materials; the agents watched helplessly as the politics of prison were placed on the court records. 'I'm happy to say that I'm a member of the Black Panther Party,' she stated, but 'I'm not permitted literature that refers to my political ideology.' Literature referring to 'people's power' is not 'approved.'

About a year ago, when Panthers Peggy Hudgins and Rose Smith were still in prison with Ericka--they have since been released--their rooms were ransacked. Ericka told of the things which had been taken, some of which have never been returned. They confiscated the Red Book, she said, and 'returned it after MacDougall's office had read it, I guess.' Letters Ericka had received and her letters to Rose and Peggy. Asked if she knew why these things had been taken, she replied, 'I don't know if they thought we were writing love letters to each other; maybe that's why they took them.'

Soon after the materials were confiscated, Ericka testified, she, Rose and Peggy were placed 'in a room' for 9 days. If there was any disciplinary hearing, she said, they were not present.

After Peggy and Rose left, Ericka was in total isolation for 32 days. Prisoners at Niantic are allowed one phone call a month. Although Ericka has been there a year and a half, she learned of this only a month ago.

Letters were introduced with Ericka's testimony which substantiate her claims--letters from Ericka to her lawyer, from her lawyer to Mrs. York, etc.

The cross-examination was perhaps more useful to the prisoners' cause than to the state's. The lawyers for the state continually asked questions which permitted Ericka to speak from her heart about what is happening in Niantic and in this country. Asked about the 'harassment' she had mentioned earlier, Ericka replied that it was largely 'psychological harassment' that she was talking about. 'I just want to be able to say what I feel like saying.'

The lawyer asked her whether she felt like calling the guards at Niantic 'pigs.' Patiently, the beautiful sister explained that she did not consider the guards pigs. They are as exploited as the inmates. She told the lawyer that there were at least two matrons who are different from all the others. 'How are they different ?' the attorney persisted. 'They treat me like a human being, a woman.'

The state's lawyers constantly asked her questions about herself 'as an individual.' They wanted to know whether she personally was discriminated against. Ericka did not relate to that at all and refused to answer virtually every question phrased that way. 'We're having a problem with words,' she told him, 'everything that is done to any sister in Niantic affects me very personally.'

She did mention the fact that posters which she made were called 'free hazards'. Asked about the posters, Ericka explained that she often 'does things with her hands,' and had occasionally made posters as gifts for other women in the prison. These posters were ripped off the wall because of what they said. Unbelievably, the state's lawyer asked her exactly what they had said. She replied, 'Revolutionary love will bring all people of the world together,' and proceeded to explain what that meant.

The lawyer became very uncomfortable and appeared to be trying to push the words back into her mouth, but it was too late.

REPORT ON NEW ORLEANS POLITICAL PRISONERS

Since their incarceration, the members of the New Orleans' N.C.C.F. and their sympathizers have been subjected to inhuman and cruel treatment at Parish Prison. They are isolated from the prison population on a specially made tier (C-1). They are constantly harassed and questioned by the pigs about "all that power".

On Thursday, December 3, 1970, they were gassed in their cells. They were denied visits as long as the odor of the gas remained.

When the pigs recognized that the gassing had had no effect on the high spirits of the N.C.C.F. members, they maced them. The same day, December 14, the pigs, not satisfied with the results of the macing, forced the brothers into the yard and sprayed water from a fire hose on them for two hours. (The temperature that day was 42 degrees)

As a result of these torturous acts, one of the brothers had to be hospitalized. Another brother, Harold Holmes, has swollen twice his normal size and is being denied gravely needed medical treatment. Constantly harassing him, the pigs tell him to let "All power to the people cure him".

The oppressed people of the New Orleans community are informed of the mal-treatment of the N.C.C.F. members and recognize that the pigs are attempting to make an example to all Black people who want to fight for their liberation. So, they have resolved to fight for their right to live with the strength and determination of their Viet Namese brothers and other oppressed communities throughout the Babylonian Empire.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



A LETTER FROM TACOMA CITY JAIL



The enclosed statement is a letter from Chip Marshall, one of the seven defendants in the Seattle Conspiracy case. He, like other defendants, is being held in solitary in the Tacoma jail. It is an account of the government's repressive response to a sucessful defense in a political trial. We say successful not only because of the political points made in the courtroom about the nature of American justice, but because the defense concretely showed weakness of the government's case.

The importance of this case as a test of the conspiracy laws cannot be overestimated, and yet the press coverage up to now has been inadequate. Most of the important proceedings of the trial have either been distorted or neglected by the national and local press.

This should be a lesson and a warning to all of us as to what the outcome of the trial of Chairman Bobby Seale, Sister Ericka Huggins and the N.Y. 21 will be if we the people do not act now.

Dec. 17, 1970

Brothers and Sisters,

The abrupt end of the Seattle Conspiracy trial may signal a new pattern for federal repression. By declaring a mistrial in this case and sentencing five of the defendants to a year in jail without bail for contempt and the other two defendants to 6 months under the same conditions, Judge George Boldt has set a legal precedent for evading the safeguards to justice supposedly guaranteed to every citizen under the Bill of Rights. The new approach allows the state to fill all functions at once - judge, jury and executioner thus avoiding the possibility of any embarrassing errors (acquittal). Judge Boldt summed up the case in the following words:

> I have no doubt my daily prayers for strength and guidance to be calm and understanding and patient in this case and to do that which is fair and just in the sight of our heavenly father have been answered. I believe divine providence may have given this court and others guidance to an effective solution of disruptive trials. I pray it may be so.

Within an hour, the courtroom had been brutally cleared of all but the 'safe' media by thirty to forty leather gloved marshals who continued to fondle their blackjacks as Boldt droned on after the trial reconvened. The defendants were handcuffed, several still bleeding from the marshals' attacks. If 'divine inspiration' was involved in this trial, it was clearly of the same sort which inspired the Inquisition and the Salem witch trials.

Earlier in the day, Jeff Dowd had called the court's attention to the American flag flying above the judge's head. He said that it was once the flag of a revolutionary people who believed in liberty and justice for all. The defendants then presented the judge a flag they felt was more appropriate for that courtroom - the Nazi flag. The judge offered no protests, but instead admitted it as Court's Exhibit No. 1. The Baliff stood nervously holding the flag at his side, looking confused. Was he expected to display it next to the Stars and Stripes and the Gold Seal mounted above the judges bench?

From the beginning, the collective defense was determined to prevent the trial from becoming a circus. We felt that we could discredit the notion of 'conspiracy' and explode the 'outside agitator' myth. We wanted to show that the only people who met in secret, hatched plots and duped people through clever propoganda were the very people who were bringing us to trial - the federal government.

The government's strategy was to use the 'Reichstag Fire' approach perfected by Goebbels during the 30's. By creating hysteria about Weatherman, bombings, Black Panthers, free sex, and drug fanatics, they hoped that the real issues could be avoided. The government would create a circus to divert people's attention from the growing problems of depression plaguing the Northwest.

The federal judiciary would cooperate in this strategy by making sure that we did not get a jury of our peers and by ruling out anything 'irrelevent' such as the war, racism, sexism, and the court system. At the same time, they allowed the D.A. the widest latitude in bringing up facts about drugs, sex, and violence calculated to scare the straight jury. Further proof of the latitude accorded the prosecution was the judge's ruling (a week into the trial) that none of the overt acts listed in the indictment had to be proved to constitute this conspiracy. Any overt act which the prosecution could come up with would be sufficient evidence of such a conspiracy. This ruling meant, in effect, that the defendants would not know what they were charged with until the prosecution brought the evidence to trial.

At first, things went according to schedule. The judge denied us the right to queston prospective jurors about their attitudes, preferring to ask the whole group of 150 like, "Now if any of you have prejudice against Black people, please raise your hand."

The local D.A., Stan Pitkin, as ambitious as he was inept, also tried to follow the script, throwing out any prospective juror whose sideburns extended past the top of his ears or whose opinions extended beyond the Green Bay Packers. When we challenged this, the judge would threaten contempt. We began to realize that we had been fooled by the myth of Chicago. The so-called circus had not been created by Jerry, Abbie and Bobby. They had reacted to narrow and prohibitive judicial structures which denied them the possibility of defending themselves. We found we had to protest, had to object, had to risk contempt to assure the semblence of a fair trial.

Any doubts that the judge was unbiased were completely dispelled once the trial began. Boldt, notorious for his stern handling of draft cases, reacted violently to the spectators, most of whom were young 'hippy types' as he called them. The fact that these people sometimes laughed or made remarks enraged Boldt who had a reputation for 'speedy and efficient' justice.

At times, things became ludicrous. To him, all young people looked alike and he consistantly confused our names even to the point of telling 5'2', Susan Stern, "Now Mr. Dowd, please sit down! (Dowd is 6'4 with bushy hair). When Susan protested, Boldt looked to the back of the gallery and shouted I heard that!" and ordered one woman to leave. Susan said, Judge, I said that." Boldt looked right past her and ordered another innocent spectator out of the court. At this point Dowd stood up and told the judge he must be blind. "You be quiet Mr. Abeles!". the judge, snapped. And so it went.

Despite the fact that Judge Boldt did everything possible to help the government's case, it soon became clear that Pitkin's case was hopeless. His opening statement painted us as the incarnation of evil. "We will show that Joseph Kelly incited to riot..., that Chip Marshall passed a tear gas cannister to Mike Abeles..., and that Roger Lippman threw rocks at the federal courthouse in Seattle...," he said, staring intently at the jury. When defense attorney Mike Tigar pointed out that on the day in question, Joe Kelly was before a judge in Chicago, that the tear gas cannister was actually a bullhorn, the jury appeared to look strangely at Pitkin. Tigar pointed out that Lippman was in San Francisco on the day in question and stated that if he threw a rock that hit the Seattle courthouse, it was the longest throw in history. Several of the jurors smirked and the judge's face turned red. Pitkin shifted in his seat and looked nervously at his FBI assistant, Mr. Lou Harris.

After Pitkin had brought on a few witnesses, including our land lord who said the only thing he could complain about was the color we painted our living room, and a University of Washington policeman who saw some of us in the student union building a week prior to the TDA demonstration but didn't hear anything we said and couldn't remember if we even talked to each other, the press began wondering if the government was just wasting taxpayers money. Then Pitkin played his ace - an "undercover weatherman; he consistantly tried to get people to bomb things but no one took him up; he admitted that he was addicted to codine and that the FBI supplied his habit. Then he confessed to me under further cross-examination that "he would do anything to get us - even lie". Pitkin dropped his head. His bombshell had blown up in his face, the government's case was dead.

Pitkin was so shaken that for the next two days he was unable to bring one witness to the stand. He used a variety of excuses, but even Boldt was getting perturbed. Boldt chose to redirect his anger at us. When Abeles accused the prosecution of stalling, he issued his 'final warning' about our courtroom behavior.

The next day, Judge Boldt solved the government's problems. It was pouring rain outside and the marshals, who had been abusing the spectators throughout the trial, refused to admit into the downstairs lobby about 40 people who were standing outside in the rain. When Jeff Dowd went to the judges chambers to protest, Boldt said, "People like that don't mind rain," and cited Jeff with contempt for knocking on his door too loudly. The defendants, who were waiting in their defense room, demanded that the spectators be let in and that a hearing be held on Jeff's comtempt charge. (At this point we had no reason to believe that court had convened and that the jury was in the box. On every day prior to this motions, such as those we had just presented were heard by the judge before the jury was called in. In addition it was the practice of the Judge or bailiff to ask both defense and prosecution if they were ready to proceed before calling the jury into the courtroom. On this particular occasion this proceedure was not followed by the judge. The judge had called the court in session and summoned the jury without our having the slightest idea that this was going on.) After about 20 minutes of waiting, without hearing any word from the judge, decided to go over to the courtroom. When we opened the door of our defense room, the judge was standing there. We told him we were coming and followed him down the hall to the court. When we got inside, I told the jury, "We're sorry we are late, but many people were being kept outside in the pouring rain." The judge blew up. He declared us all in contempt for delaying the trial and said that my 'outrageous remarks' to the jury had 'hopelessly prejudiced' the jury. MISTRIAL!

We protested, saying we weren't afraid of the jury and wanted to continue the trial. We pointed out that Pitkin had delayed for two days while the court waited for him to bring forth his next witness, but the judge paid no attention to our protest. "I'm doing this for your own good," he said. We had heard this line once before when he moved the trial from liberal Seattle to backwoods Tacoma, prompting Mike Lerner to remark, "With friends like you, judge, who needs enemies!" Afterwards, the press interviewed the jurors and our suspicions were confirmed. No, they were not prejudiced, and yes, they were sorry a mistrial had been declared. Five even said they thought the government's case was shoddy and most thought we would have either gotten off or had a hung jury.

Our strategy proved to be correct. The government had failed to show that we were 'madmen'. Once we began to talk, even "middle Americans" began to listen. But what we hadn't counted on was Judge Boldt's divine inspiration, mistrial plus heavy contempt sentences. When we arrived in court for our contempt hearing on Monday, we expected to call witnesses and have a jury. We were convinced that they would never find us guilty. So was Judge Boldt. No witnesses, no jury, six months.

We were stunned. Then Susan Stern rose to speak. She had been sick in the hospital on Thursday, and she felt that her rights had been violated by the mistrial declared in her absence. The judge was outraged. He couldn't deal with a woman who didn't show him proper respect. He threatened contempt but Susan continued to speak. It was the most dramatic moment of the trial. In a low, steady voice, she talked about Vietnam, Bobby Seale, and the things that had moved her to join the revolution. The courtroom was hushed, tears were in the eyes of most of the spectators, defendants and lawyers - even the D.A.'s head was lowered as she said: "Bring back the people slaughtered at My Lai, bring back the soldiers killed in Vietnam, bring the half million people of Woodstock, bring them all here to decide who is in contempt."

Boldt, feeling his power slip, blurted out, "Stop this diatribe!" Then federal marshals were everywhere. I can't remember clearly what happened. Two pigs grabbed Susan, then grabbed me. As I was pulled out of the courtroom I saw the marshals mace Mike Tigar, one of our lawyers, and begin to swing into the crowd with blackjacks. The rest was anti-climax. The courtoom was cleared, 14 people arrested and order restored. Six more months for contempt - again no hearing, again no jury.

At present we are all in the Tacoma City Jail. We have been denied bail on the basis of an FBI report declaring that we are "as dangerous as Eldridge Cleaver and Angela Davis". The judge, signed affidavits claiming they "fear for their lives" if we are let out of jail. We are appealing the denial of bail, but in or out of jail we will continue to striggle. We have already gotten together with the other prisoners and tomorrow there will be a strike. 100% of the people in my block have signed a list of 10 demands at great risk to themselves.

Whatever happens, we consider the trial a victory. Another facade of justice has been ripped away, more people have joined the movement as a result, this bringing us a step closer to bringing the monster down.

LOVE AND POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chip Marshall

FIVE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE RAILROADED BY TUCSON GRAND JURY

Los Angeles-December 22, 1970

Five people active in the radical movement in Los Angeles have been jailed in Tucson, Arizona, with sentences ranging from 60 days to indefinite. They are charged with contempt of a federal grand jury which is investigating an alleged purchase of dynamite in Arizona and its transportation into California. None of the five has committed-or even been accused of-any crime. They are being held because they refused to answer sweeping questions about their friends and acquaintances.

The Tucson grand jury is one element in a nationwide campaign to crush the revolutionary movement in the United States, a campaign which escalated in mid-October when Nixon signed the new "anti-crime" law. As he signed it, he remarked to J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Mitchell that now the FBI had the tools to go after the left.

Inflation and unemployment continue to grow. The war in Vietnam now extends throughout Southeast Asia. But neither Nixon nor the political interests and powers he serves can accept the blame. Incapable of resolving America's social and political crises, the Administration attacks people who respond to these crises with political action-working people, blacks, chicanos and women struggling for a new, non-oppressive society.

The five people in jail in Tucson are good examples of the sort of person the government is going after. Teri Volpin worked for two years in community organizing projects with poor white, chicano and black people threatened with being uprooted by urban renewal; more recently she worked with the GI movement against the Vietnam war and against racism and authoritarianism in the military, as well as in the women's liberation movement. Dave Scheffler, a Vietnam veteran, also worked with the GI movement, and before that with a group organized to prevent police harassement and illegal arrest in the community where he lived. Lee Weinberg was active in the antiwar and women's liberation movements. Pam Donaldson worked in the antiwar and student movements for several years, and had recently taken a factory job, where she had to confront the issues of inflation, low wages and unsteady employment. Karen Duncan went from the civil rights movement into the campus antiwar movement, and at the time she was jailed was part of a women's group fighting inhuman prison conditions and worked in a community bookstore.

Far from being members of any underground organization-as the local press has asserted-the entirely public nature of their political activities made them available to be easily subpoenaed before the grand jury. It is doubtful, however, that the five jailed people were actually subpoenaed as witnesses. At this point, a pattern of requiring people to appear and court exists, calculated to intimidate those subpoenaed and disrupt their political activity.

If they were expected to testify, then the nature of questions being asked in Tucson points to an investigation not about dynamite bought in Arizona, but about radical group active in LA. A typical question: "Please describe all contacts and conversations with (fill in the blank) during 1969 and 1970; where they took place, who else was present, and what was said." Or another: "Please describe all demonstrations, disorders or riots in which you participated or which you helped plan during 1970." Such questions are not only impossible to answer, but point to the use of this grand jury as a fishing expedition- a supposition reinforced by U.S. Attorney Guy Goodwin's comment last month that the scope of the investigation " has broadened a great deal " and the fact that the term of the grand jury has been extended three months.

The discovery that one of the crimes supposedly being investigated is conspiracy (specifically, conspiracy to cross state lines to commit riot) reinforces the notion that this grand jury is lining up a witch-hunt against the L.A. movement, since conspiracy law-because it is vague- has already been used over and over again in the last two years to indict and jail radicals, and in fact originated historically as an attack on the labor movement.

The grand jury meets in secret and is surrounded by an aura of mystery. Not only are prospective defendants, the media and the public excluded, but a witness cannot even bring her or his lawyer into the grand jury room. The attorney can be in the hall, and the witness can be excused to consult her or him, but this is a far cry from having counsel at your sie throughout the proceedings. The prosecutor may well be able to pressure the witness into answering questions she or he shouldn't answer and to embarrass witnesses so they will leave to talk to their lawyers only rarely.

The secrecy surrounding the grand jury even extends to the point of not informing witnesses what they are being asked to testify about. The prosecutor, without informing witnesses about the nature of the investigation underway, can use the transcript of the grand jury proceedings later- at a trial-to contradict a defense witness who changes her or his story. Or he may be able to trap a witness into lying to the grand jury and then convict the witness of perjury, even if he doesn't have enough to try the witness or anyone else for a substantial crime. So the dangers of testifying at all clear, both for witnesses and for their brothers and sisters.

The prosecutor can use the grand jury to force potential defendants' friends and comrades to talk with him and turn over books and papers to him before the trial (if there is one), unless they assert their Fith Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. But there is no constitutional right to refuse to give information because it might incriminate someone else.

The grand jury situation is the only time when we are required to talk with a D.A. or U.S. Attorney or else face being jailed for contempt of court. The grand jury has the power to offer witnesses immunity from prosecution on the basis of their testimony and then have them held in contempt if they still refuse to talk.

This is precisely what has happened in Tucson. Our sisters and brothers subpoenaed from California have refused to testify to the grand jury. They were granted "immunity" and still refused to talk. They are presently serving sentences for civil contempt of court which range from 60 days to an indefinite time period.

They have refused to testify because the questions asked were so broad in scope as to indicate a gigantic conspiracy involving the whole L.A. movement. Once you begin answering a line of question you must continue or be held in contempt. If asked to name all the demonstrations and political activities you have been in during the last two years, or the nature of all discussions which have taken place in your house in 1970 and all the people who visited you that year, what would you do? Our sisters and brother in Tucson are in jail because they have made a political decision not to answer such questions, not to help the Nixon administration build its witch-hunt.

MIDNIGHT SPECIAL BOOKSTORE
Venice, California 90291

SISTER MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD BY RENT-A-PIG

On Saturday, December 12, 1970, a 21 year old sister, Darnese Strowder, was murdered in cold blood by a nigger rent-a-pig, William B. Miller, for allegedly "shop-lifting".

Darnese had arrived at Fisher Fazio Costa Supermarket with her husband, Nathaniel Collins, their six month old son, Nathaniel, Jr., at around closing time to do some last minute shopping. After she and Nathaniel had finished shopping and paid their bill they were stopped by rent-a-pig, William Miller. He told them to step into the dairy room for a moment. Nathaniel, without objecting, stepped into the room and Darnese followed close behind with the baby on the shopping cart.

After they were in the back room, rent-a-pig Miller started oinking about them having stolen a steak. He demanded to look into the diaper bag that the brother was carrying. Nathaniel, seeing no reason why he should object, consented to have the bag searched. When the nigger rent-a-pig saw that he was obviously wrong about the brother and sister stealing something, he decided to make a scene.

Then he demanded to be allowed to search the sister's purse. At this point, the sister couldn't take any more insults from this insane fool. So she told him that she was not going to allow him to put his greasy hands on her property. She told him to call the pigs if he wanted to but she was not going to allow him to humiliate her any more. At this point, this foul bootlickin' nigger pulled out his gun and shot the sister in the forehead with a .38 cal. dum-dum bullet from less than three feet.

Nathaniel called the pigs and it took them twenty minutes to arrive on the scene. By this time, the sister was dead.

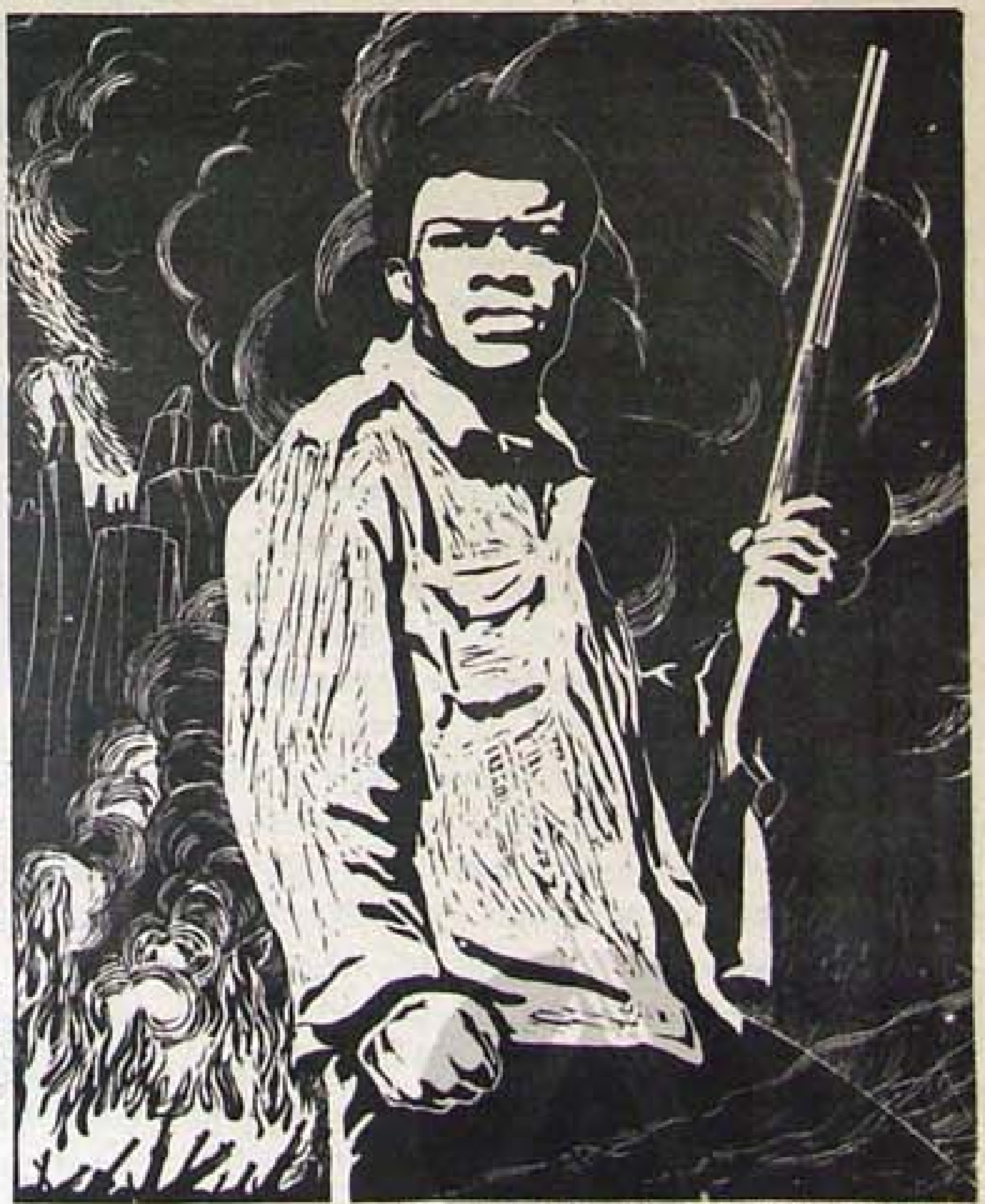
The nigger rent-a-pig, for attempting to emulate his government endorsed cohorts (Cleveland City Pigs), is now charged with "second degree murder". The fascist ruling circle is using this blunder of one of its lackeys to build support for their "law and order" regime.

Cleveland's Pig D.A. Clarence D. Rogers, is now screaming about rent-a-pigs not having licenses and "proper training". He is oinking about how he is going to prosecute rent-a-pigs like all other citizens who don't have gun licenses.

The pigs are capitalizing on this incident and rent-a-pigs are being used as scapegoats for the crimes and atrocities being committed by all pigs in the city. An article in the city newspaper observed: "Cleveland is looking more and more like a city under siege. A virtual army of gun slinging, swaggering, uniformed thugs, called variously special policemen, and security guards, is terrorizing the population and giving the regular police a bad name."

In an attempt to justify their position in the poor and oppressed communities of Cleveland, the city pigs are stabbing their rent-a-pig lackeys in the back. This situation is parallel to the My Lai Massacre hearings that the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell clique is using to exemplify their administration's "honesty and justness" in dealing with the oppressed Viet Namese People. However the masses of oppressed people throughout the world are not being duped by the pigs of U.S. Imperialism neither in Cleveland, Ohio nor in Viet Nam.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS
N.C.C.F.
CLEVELAND, OHIO



Woodcut by Carmelita Hinton sent to us from The People's Republic of China.

STORM TROOPERS INVADE COMMUNITY

Twenty-four hours a day, our communities are patrolled by pigs whose only job is to carry out fascist repression on the people. Daily, they intensify the ruling clique's genocide against poor people throughout the world.

On Wednesday, December 9, 1970, the Hilltop Area in Tacoma, Washington was invaded by an unusually large amount of pigs. These pigs had been given the 'go ahead' from the chief of pigs to avenge the shooting of one of their fellow pigs. Pig Arthur James Hargrove had been shot in the jaw earlier when he and his partner stopped a car on 16th and Anisworth St., answering the description of a vehicle seen leaving a robbery.

One of the three brothers occupying the car opened fire, wounding Hargrove. He then escaped on foot while the other two brothers drove off in the car. This incident led to pigs running rampant, harassing people in the Black community. At least four brothers were arrested and later released for lack of evidence. The next day, the pig board offered $1,000 to anyone with evidence that would lead to the arrest and conviction of the person responsible for the shooting of this pig. Now, the pigs and all their bootlickin' lackeys have become bounty hunters.

The masses of Black people must protect with the gun those members of the Black community that the pigs have particularly singled out for fascist repression.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Tacoma, Washington Community



LETTER FROM INTERNATIONAL BUREAU, RED ARMY, JAPAN

November 29, 1970

Dear comrades:

We have been receiving your paper constantly since the end of last year when one of our comrades, Hatano, chief of the International Bureau, visited your office and held discussions with comrades Big Man, David Hilliard, Masai and others. We have learned a lot and been encouraged a lot by the various revolutionary actions and thoughts of your party: Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention; sending your troops to Vietnam; Anti-Imperialist Delegation to the People's Republic of Korea, People's Republic of China and North Vietnam; organization of revolutionary soldiers of the imperialist army into people's fighting front; support to just rebellions of prisoners in pig's jails and prisons; revolutionary support to and sympathy *with women's and gay liberation.*

We have not only been inspired by the causes and consequences of such revolutionary attempts and actions, but also learned a lot from your constantly advocated new view of the world, world-wide strategy and analysis of imperialism. We are saying all this not as lookers-on, but as fellow revolutionaries with a full conviction to fight for the liberation of all oppressed peoples of the world.

You must remember that the Black Panther Party sent two delegates to Japan in summer, 1969, in answer to the invitation to an international conference by the Communist League of Japan. Your delegates, Big Man and Roberta Alexander had several discussions with us as well as meetting struggling farmers and lumpen proletariat in the slums. Through our discussion with them we differed in questions of world revolutionary strategy, community control, "serve the people" concept and so forth.

There are two two reasons for this: 1) we were in the midst of an ideological discussion between what has by now been organized solidly "Red Army" (which started as a faction within the Communist League) and what is still called Communist League. We are now writing to you representing the Red Army. But at the time when your delegates came here, we ourselves were confused in terms of tactics and world strategy. 2) as a common feature of all Japanese new left (let us use this word to distinguish ourselves from the reformist bureaucratic "classic" Marxist-Leninist groups) We use big words too much. At the same time, we then beleived more in ideological coherence than in revolutionary practice. Ideological coherence is important, if the ideology is wide, deep, just and true enough to give us insight into and understanding of the dynamic evolution of a revolution.



JAPANESE STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST U.S MILITARY BASES IN JAPAN

We think it more than supreme that comrades Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and other members of the Black Panther Party are so interested in what is being said and done in the Democractic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and Vietnam. Because to fight imperialism, we cannot but focus our revolutionary attention on the counter-revolutionary oppression of U.S. and Japanese imperialists in Asia and on people's revolutionary struggle against them.

In Japan there are more than 600,000 Korean people being confined in the most oppressed corner of the Japanese society. They were kidnapped to Japan, against their will, to be made slaves for the Japanese imperialists during Japanese occupation of Korea. Twenty-five years after the "liberation of Korea" from Japan, they are still segregated against politically, economically and culturally in the oppressive and chauvinistic Japanese society.

The practical examples of the oppressive mechanism are: 1) The Koreans living in Japan (some brought here a long time ago, some were born here) cannot freely travel to their fatherland. Their affiliation to North or to South is constantly checked by the chauvinistic Immigration and Emmigration Control Office of the government. The Japanese government is now having a campaign under the co-sponsorship of the U.S. puppet government of South Korea to force Koreans to choose between the North or the South. Those who choose DPRK nationality (either because they are geographically from there or because they identify themselves ideologically with the DPRK) are constantly threatened by the imperialists; 2) There is a concentration camp of the Korean people---political prisoners---in Japan. They are imprisoned not because their actions were found criminal under the Criminal Law, but because under the Immigration and Emmigration Control Law their minds were found fully or partially devoted to the liberation of the Korean people in Japan and in South Korea; 3) High school students going to schools affiliated to DPRK where they teach the language and history of the Korean people, are daily harassed and sometimes seriously beaten-up by Japanese high school provocateurs used by old fascist, chauvinistic right-wing ghosts still haunting the Japanese society; 4) An international assembly of World Anti-Communist League, which was started in South Korea, and is now supported by the counter-revolutionary statesmen and governments of South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and so forth, was held in Tokyo and Kyoto in September They advocated "Peace and Harmony" through fighting communism.

It is not only Koreans, but also Chinese, Okinawans and the people of Buraky (with no racial distinction from the other Japanese, but who have been segregated against for more than centuries because of the profession they were forced to engage in --animal slaughter, execution, leatherware, manufacture,etc.-that are being oppressed, but it should be emphasized more strongly that all the historical evils of pre-war and post-war periods (we mean World War II) are still existent and apparent in the Japanese society as well as in whole of Asia and the

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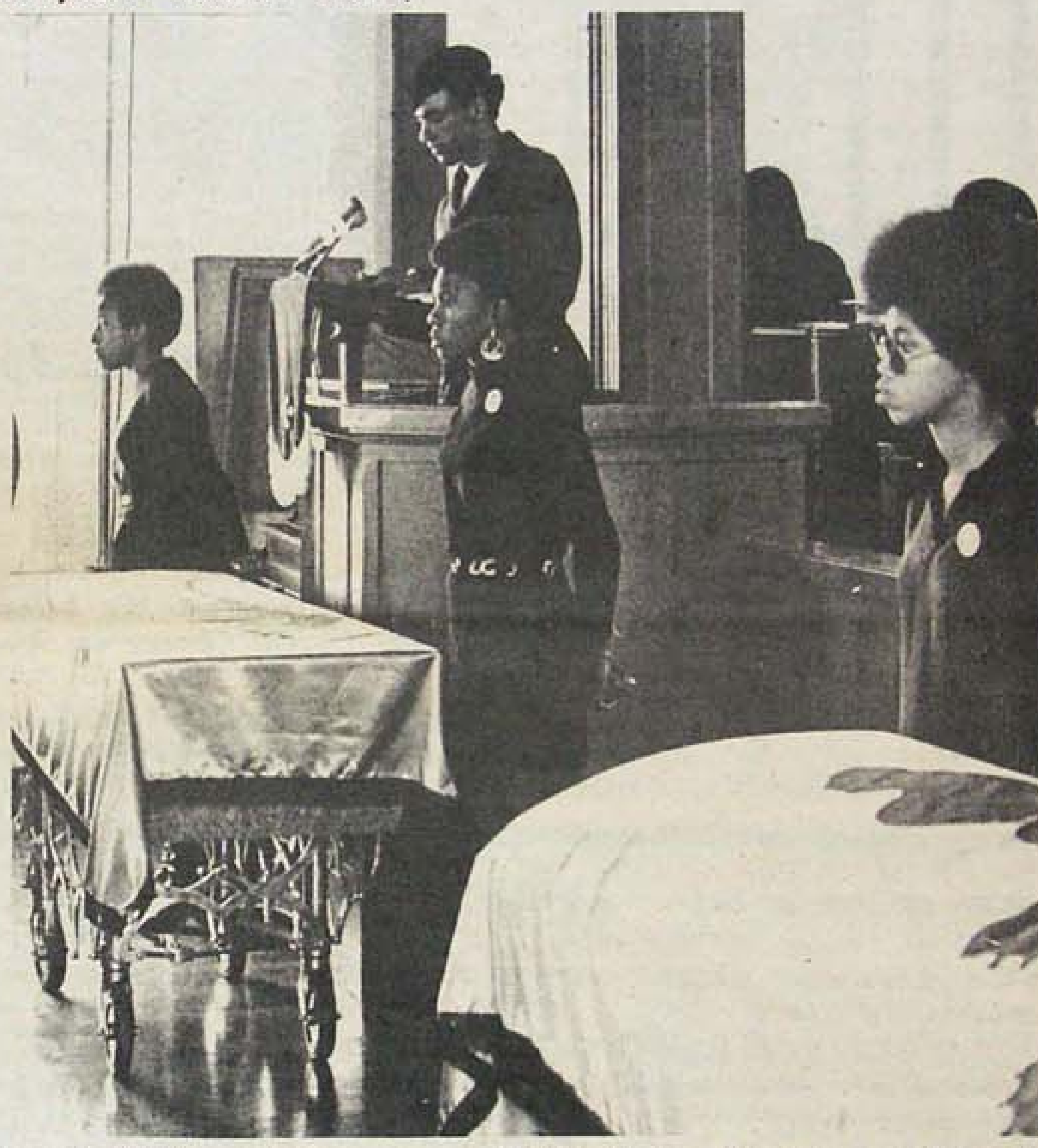
1970 SELECTED WORKS FROM "THE BLACK PANTHER," BLACK COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER

EULOGY DELIVERED BY HUEY P. NEWTON, SUPREME COMMANDER, BLACK PANTHER PARTY,

AT THE REVOLUTIONARY FUNERAL OF COMRADES JONATHAN JACKSON AND WILLIAM CHRISTMAS ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH, 27TH AND WEST STREETS, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, AUGUST 15, 1970

(Sat. August 21, 1970 VOL. IV NO. 8)





We have nothing to lose but our shackles and freedom to gain. We have gathered today not only to give respect to Comrades Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas, but also to pledge our lives to the accomplishment of the goals exemplified in the actions of brothers Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas.

THERE ARE NO LAWS THAT THE OPPRESSOR MAKES THAT THE OPPRESSED ARE BOUND TO RESPECT.

Laws should be made to serve people. People should not be made to serve laws. When laws no longer serve the people, it is the people's right and the people's duty to free themselves from the yoke of such laws.

Oppressed people in general, and Black people in particular, have suffered too long and we must draw the line somewhere. There is a big difference between thirty million unarmed Black people and thirty million Black people armed to the teeth.

We are not alone. We have allies everywhere. We find our comrades wherever in the world we hear the oppressors whip. People all over the world are rising up, the high tide of revolution is bout to sweep the shores of America -- Sweeping away the evil gentry and corrupt officials.

Our comrades Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas have taught us a revolutionary lesson. They have intensified the struggle and placed it on a higher level.

A picture is worth a thousand words but action is supreme. Comrades Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas have made the ultimate sacrifice. They have given the revolution their lives.

While it is viewed as a tragedy, and many would weep for Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas, the Black Panther Party serves notice that it is not brothers Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas for whom we should weep. They have achieved freedom and we remain slaves. If we must weep let it be for those of us who remain in bondage.

The Black Panther Party will follow the example that was set forth by these courageous revolutionaries. The people refuse to submit to the slavery and bondage that is required in order for us to live a few more years on the planet earth. IF THE PENALTY FOR THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM IS DEATH---THEN BY DEATH WE ESCAPE TO FREEDOM.

Without freedom life means nothing.

CORRESPOND NCE FROM JAIL FROM ROMAINE "CHIP" FITZGERALD

(Sat. August 21, 1970 VOL. IV NO. 8)

THE NATURAL AND SOCIAL PHENOMENA OF DEATH



Romaine "Chip" Fitzgerald
Political Prisoner ---1970
San Quentin Prison
Death Row

Brothers, sisters, and revolutionary comrades, our struggle for national liberation requires sacrifice. A subordination of individual interest to the collective interest of the masses. We are representatives of this collective interest and responsi-

Soledad 3, George Jackson) and ble to their needs and desires. Our present situation dictates what is necessary for the transformation of an oppressed society to a liberated society. Our uncompromising stance must not be made passive or cowardly by intimidation of death by the fascist imperialist mother country.

Historically the slave master has always indoctrinated the slave with fear of death--the slave master's consequence for any assertive struggle for freedom. The phenomenon of death was and/ is given a sinister of frightful distorted definition. Because of the mental fixation (indoctrination) perpetrated by the slave master, whenever Black people think in terms of or see death it terrifies the fantasies and imagination of the unknown, he taught and ingrained into our minds, thus liberation is aborted.

There are two causes of death, natural death and social death. Natural death is the inevitable evolutionary result of the new perpetually replacing the old--a child born today will die of old age tomorrow. Social death is the unfortunate results of man's relationship to his environment, including other men. The term social death means untimely or accidental death caused by the external environment; for example, famine, improper health conditions, exposure to extreme heat or cold etc. Natural death is inevitable and unavoidable. Social death is not natural or inevitable but determined by objective conditions. We can regulate or eliminate social death at our own discretion. So death can be defined in terms of natural (internal physiological) phenomenon or social (environmental) phenomenon. We must guarantee an end to social death.

The Black Panther Party is in a very fragile position in relationship to the oppressors ability to subject us to social death. We, the fighters for liberation, driven by the urge to be free, are the destructive clog in the fascist state apparatus and exploitation. Our primary concern is to educate the oppressed masses, destroy the mental fixation and myths of our tormentors' invincibility. The Black Panther Party is a manifestation of Black people's self-determination to purge from society social death--the effect of capitalism. However, the immediate result of struggle between the have and have-nots, oppressed and the oppressor or national liberation against national colonization will be social death (there can be no progress without struggle and sacrifice) the end result will be a society free of antagonistic contradiction. The possibility of death is considered but it is not the determining factor in our practice. If we accept the pigs' definition of death and fail to develop our own, then we are guilty of reacting to the oppressors' mental instrument of repression with emotionalism and irrationality. But the Black Panther Party responds basing our practice on the highest interest and largest number of the masses. We are under the authority of the people. We must sacrifice.

In order to live and be free we must be prepared to die. Brothers like General Dessilines of Haiti and Nat Turner are monumental landmarks and bear witness of victory over fear and slave mentality. Brother Malcolm X refused to succomb to intimidation of consequence because he demanded Black people must control their own destiny by any means necessary -- even the sacrifice of his life. The revolutionary examples of Bobby Hutton, Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, Walter "Toure" Pope gives us a clear idological bearing as to what must be done. Seventeen year old Jonathan Jackson (brother of the three Black Prisoners of War from San Quentin, is a manifestation of the times. Brother Jonathan's courage and valor to free political prisoners by any means necessary was in fact an action to free all oppressed people. For people who evaluate only in terms of quantity it was a failure. Looking at the dual nature of things, the revolutionary evaluates in terms of quality and quantity. The quality of the Brothers' practice, the beauty, the uniqueness was the superiority of his love for the people and their freedom, over the fascist judicial terrorists' threat of death. In revolution we win or we die -- WE NEVER SUBMIT! That is the victory.

The Black Panther Party recognizes the struggle has advanced to a higher level. We are struggling for human rights--the prerequisite for self-determination. Therefore, civil laws that aren't responsive or refuse to recognize the human laws of self-determination warrant no respect or adherence in our just struggle for national liberation. We must Seize The Time! The Time Is Now! The reality of NOW dictates the priorities and necessities. Later for subjectivism, ego tripping, small group mentality and cliquism. And most important is TOTAL disregard! for the paper pigs' threat of consequence. "Wherever death may surprise us it will be welcomed, provided that this, our battle cry reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."--Ernesto *"Che"* Guevara

SEIZE THE TIME...NOW!!!

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
So. California Chapter
Romaine "Chip" Fitzgerald
(Political Prisoner of War)

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FROM DEFENDANTS-- N.Y. 21 TO "JUSTICE" MURTAGH

people. On April 3, 1969 Lee Berry was a patient in the Veterans' Administration Hospital where he was receiving treatment as an epileptic, subject to Grand Mal seizures, which can be fatal. Lee Berry is not mentioned particularly in the "indictment". Yet, on April 3, 1969, your "police" dragged him out of the hospital. These "police" stood him up before your cohort, "Judge Marks. Lee was "arraigned" without counsel. Bail $100,000. He was thrown into an isolation cell in the Tombs without even a mattress. In July 1969, he was physically attacked without provocation and without warning, while he was in a drugged stupor.

You were aware of his condition--you were quite aware. Numerous motions were in your "Great Court System". It took four months to even get him medication, and only in November when he had become ill, so progressively worse that it was frightening. He finally got consent to be transferred to Bellevue Hospital. Because of the courts' decisions under your "American Sysrem of Jusrice", Lee Berry has had four serious operations within the last two months. Because of the courts' decisions under the great American System of Justice at this precise moment Lee Berry is lying in the shadow of Death with a possible fatal case of pneumonia. At the very least, your Great Court System is guilty of attempted murder, and D.A. Hogan should be named as a co-defendant. Lee Berry is our Brother, and what is done to him, has been done to us all... and we remained silent.

L) In November 1969, four White persons were arrested for allegedly "bombing" various sites in New York City. They were arrested allegdly with "bombs in their possession", but they were White. For three of them, bail was reduced 80% in two days, because "the presumption of innocence is basic among both the statutory and constitu-



tioanl principles affecting bail"...if you are White. (The political climate is such today, even this hardly matters anymore if one is dissident.)

Two days after that decision, we were brought in front of you and given a superceding "indictment". We could be silent no longer. We had been insulted enough--more than enough. We had been treated with contempt, in an atmosphere of intimidation for too long.

We must reiterate--we are looking at the situation objectivity. Objective Reality.

At the pre-trial hearings we are confronted with a "Judge" who had admitted, in fact, been indicted and arrested for ignoring "police" graft and corruption...a "Judge" who by his record shows an unblemished career of "police favoritism and All-American racism. In your previous dealings with Black people, you have shown yourself to be totally unjust, bloodthirsty, pityless, and inhuman. We are confronted with a District Attorney machine which has shown itself to be vigilant and unswerving in its racist policies. 90% of the inmates convicted are non-White and poor. This machine has shown itself to be unethical in its techniques and practices--even in front of our eyes--tactics which include going up and whispering to the witnesses on the stand, signalling and coaching them. We know as Look Magazine stated in June 1969 "how the police corrupt the truth... Prosecutors and Judged become their accomplices". To cite a small example: A man, a Black man .....was beaten to death in the Tombs in front of forty witnesses in May 1969 and the police swore that he died of a "heart attack". Yes, we know to what the police will swear to. All Black people, poor people, know to what the police will swear to. With all this, together with the hostility inculcated in the dominant White culture towards anything Black, is shown by you and your cohorts very well indeed. Under these conditions, and considering your stand against American racism, this in not only a challenge to us and Black people, but the whole people. To relate in terms you can understand, even Racist Woodrow Wilson stated (concerning fascism)"...This is a challenge to all mankind; there is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making, we will not choose the path of submission...we will be, we must be as harsh as the Truth and as uncompromising as Justice--true Justice is on our side"...To that we say, Right On!

SEIZE THE TIME

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The court convened, and Schultz got up and said, very nasty-like, "Your honor, Mr. Seale got up here this morning and was talking about attacking people." He tried to make it sound real bad.

"You're a liar," I said real loud. "You're a racist liar. You're a pig and a fascist."

He was up there talking and I jumped up and walked to the lectern and said, "Yes, I said something to the people this morning, but I didn't really say that. This is a bunch of racist lies, a fascist operation." Then I went back to my seat to sit down. Marshals were moving all around the room about to charge me. They were really coming in on me, man. Schultz was still trying to tell the judge that I had spoken about attacking people.

"You're a bold-faced liar," I said, and I stood up again.

The marshals ran over to me, grabbed me, and the big one hit me. When I stood up, he pushed me back into the seat. As I hit the seat, the whole chair went back over and I hit the floor. At the same time another cat, a big tall cat who we called Slim, came up and pulled my arm, putting it in a hammer-lock.

"Hey, man, you're hurting me," I said. Now this is Slim, trying to do his job, but at the same time trying not to mess up with me. So what he did is he pulled my arm back down and held it there. He said, "Hey, man, be cool."

"No, man," I said, and I was really yelling out. "You're lying to the court, I didn't say a thing about attacking anybody. I said something about self defense, our right to defend ourselves, and being cool."

Schultz continued at this point, telling the judge that I was trying to disrupt the court. By this time the marshals had let me go.

"Why don't you tell the truth about exactly what I said? What I said was, 'Be cool and don't do anything; we have a right to defend ourselves if attacked.' I didn't say anything like what you're trying to insinuate. Isn't that right? Tell the truth!" I hollered at him.

And you know what Schultz did? He says, "Yes, your honor, I'm sorry; that is right; that is what he said." And Schultz went and sat down. I caught him in a cold, bold-faced lie.



Chairman Bobby Seale

[CHICAGO: SHACKLED, GAGGED AND BOUND]

THE DAY I HAD TO CALL Schultz a liar for trying to misquote me on what I'd said before court opened, I got gagged. I had demanded my rights. I told them, "I demand my Constitutional rights." I even banged on the table while I was talking. "And Judge Hoffman, you know it," I said. "I have a Constitutional right to defend myself." They recessed the court and then came back and Hoffman says, "Mr. Seale, are you going to disrupt this court anymore?"

"I'm not disrupting the court," I replied. "I am going to make my request and demand that I have a right to defend myself, because I know I have that right."

Then Hoffman told the marshals, "Take the defendant and appropriately deal with him." That's the way Hoffman said it. They took me back in the lockup right outside the courtroom. They got some tape and put it across my mouth. They handcuffed my hands down close to the legs of a metal folding chair and put the irons on my legs. They looped the chain through one of the rods running across the front of the folding part of the chair and brought it out and clasped it to my right leg.

The jury came back in, and Judge Hoffman says some kind of crazy crap, "Disregard this and disregard that." I shook my head at the jury and said, "Huh-uh, huh-uh." Some tears started rolling down one of the juror's eyes. I looked at the jury—"Huh-uh."

Hoffman said stuff like, "Mr. Seale is trying to disrupt the court."

I shook my head at the jury, "Uh-uhh, uh-uh," to indicate I wasn't trying to disrupt......................

....

He gave me four years in prison. He sentenced me unjustly. He sentenced me to four years in prison because I had *demanded* my Constitutional rights. He declared a mistrial, only on me, because the jury never would have gone along with him, That's the real reason. He tried to obscure it and say that it was something else, but four or five people on that jury were really mad. Those people didn't like Judge Hoffman. I was looking at them when I was gagged. Hoffman was observing that jury too. He knew what he was doing. So in essence, that is how the Chicago Eight trial turned into the Chicago Seven trial.

BOBBY SEALE, THE BLACK PANTHERS AND US (WHITE PEOPLE)

(March 28, 1970 VOL. IV NO. 17)

For the Whiteman, History, past and future, is very long, and his set of references is very imposing. For the Black man, Time is short, for his History has been brutally interrupted and modified in such a way that the Whites did everything to prevent him from having his own, original development. And in the USA, we are still busy setting limits on Black people's Time and Space. Not only is each and everyone of them more withdrawn within himself but he is also imprisoned by us. And when we have to, we assassinate him.

Because of his exceptional political stature, Chairman Bobby Seale's trial which just started is, in fact, a political trial of the Black Panther Party, and, on a more general basis, a race trial held against all of America's Blacks.

The reality of the Black colony within the United States is very complex. Disseminated as they are within a nation full of pride, which likes to think of herself as master of the world, the Blacks, spread among a White population, oppressed by the Whites' racism and indifference, threatened by an oppressive police and administration, have been forced to operate a very new type of fight, in this very singular situation. That is how the Black Panther Party was created, first of all to defend the rights of the colonized Blacks inside the USA, then also to initiate an original political thought process.

Before the vigor of their action and the rigor of their political reflections, the Whites--and especially the emotion of the dominating caste in the USA, the police--had a racial reaction almost immediately: since the Blacks proved that they were able to get organized, the easiest thing would be to throw discredit on their organization.

The Police were therefore able to hide the true meaning of its intentions behind unqualified pretexts; trials based on drug, murder and conspiracy charges. The fact of the matter is that they were trying to massacre those responsible for the Black Panther Party.

What about us, what are we doing? When the bombs hit Hanoi, we had some epidermic reactions; so did we during the Korean war. These massacres were taking place far away. Here and now, we are finding out that our own Colonized, which still appeared to us like shadows in our midst, are just about to become our adversaries, in this very country.

The majority of Black people live in misery. It is not the Police which stopped drugs in the Black colonies; we know that there is a collusion between the Police and the Mafia distributing these drugs. Indeed, it is the Black Panther Party itself which started to do something about that.

But we shut our eyes, our mouths, our ears, so that the Blacks' misery would not disturb us too much. If we looked straight into American reality, we would quickly understand that the Blacks are more and more capable of taking care of their own affairs. And so the simplest, the most prudent way is to leave them in a state of physical and mental misery, in a state of absolute solitude.

Let us not be afraid of words; this misery permits our own comfort. To moan about bombings far away was a luxury. Our cowardice will prevent us from opening our eyes here. In order to complete this, we have set up a high-level imposture: we have granted a few, carefully chosen Blacks notoriety, and we have mulitplied their image, but only so that they should become what we want them to be : actors.

Bobby Seale and his comrades have over-stepped our boundaries, they speak and act as responsible political people, and we can't bear this. We'd rather have misery for the Blacks and the racism it implies, than to recognize the political value of the Black Panther Party.

One really has to understand that Attorney General Mitchell, by trying Bobby Seale, is trying all of us. Our liberties are being threatened more and more. May be we're not going to do anything, but our sons and daughters are faster than us, they have made a hero out of Bobby Seale in his prison.

We won't do anything, and our children already are contemptful of us for not doing anything.

Stonybrook University should be cited as an example; when Bobby Seale was transferred to Connecticut, that University's response was to offer him a Professorship. The very day of the transfer, the University also created a Support and Defense Committee in favor of Bobby Seale and the Black Panther Party.

We have entered a period comparable to the fifties' McCarthysm. The same terrorism is being used against the intellectuals sympathizing with the Black Panther Should the Police fact be accepted or fought? Should one continue to fear the Black Panther Party like a mythology, both terrible and childish, an image of which is paralyzing us?

Should one accept that the Black people, colonized within a White empire, should attempt to free itself?

Because of the very fact that the Black Panther Party and we ourselves, White people, have the same enemy, meaning the police and, beyond the police, the White House Administration, and beyond the White House Administration, the High Finance, we know that our struggle is a class-struggle.

We should not let ourselves be distracted by the sexual myths which are said to be the origins of racism.

The origins of racism are socio-economic. We do have to make this a very precise notion, for this is the starting point of our solidarity with the Blacks and the Black Panther Party.

Where the political thought-process of the Black Panthers is concerned, I am convinced that it originates in the poetical vision of the American Blacks.

More and more do we realize that revolutionary thought originates in this poetical emotion. This is why one has to understand that it is starting with singular poetical emotions that Mao Tse-tung was brought to revolutionary consciousness, later on to the Long March, then to the revolution called the "one hundred flowers" revolution and, finally, to the cultural revolution. And it was the same for Ho Chi Minh.

And so was it for the Black Panther Party which, from the poetical resources of its oppressed people, draws the means to have a rigorous revolutionary thought.

The Whites, and particularly the young, must understand that the relationship with their own revolutionary organizations must be new relationships, and that one has to organize right now TACTICAL revolutionary alliances.

I also believe that the time has come to use new vocabulary and syntax capable of making everyone better aware of the double struggle, poetical and revolutionary, of the White movements which are comparable to the Black Panthers.

Where I am concerned, for example, I also refuse the word Brother, which is too laden with evangelical sentimentalism, and when talking about the Blacks, I want to talk about comrades in arms fighting againt the same adversary.

When the Black Panthers contacted me in France, I came right away to the United States to put myself at their disposal. Your youth, your intellect and physical agility, your moral imperatives,, are capable of making you act faster than I, and with greater efficiency. This is why I am counting on you to help the Black Panther Party and to prevent Bobby Seale's trial.

One has to think that this current of culture, which has been brutally interrupted by the White slave-drivers, is coming back again, not on the level of Black music only, but on the level of revolutionary consciousness. It is therefore a very simple, but very obvious paradox which today makes the Blacks the carriers here, in the USA, of revolutionary thought and action.

Jean Genet

D



METHOD, TIME, AND REVOLUTION

Eldridge Cleaver,
Minister of Information,
Black Panther Party, U.S.A.

(Sat. June 6, 1970 VOL. IV NO. 27)

Many people can absolutely agree on the inescapable necessity of destroying the system of oppression under which we now suffer, and for replacing it with something better. But what divides us is the questions of How? and When?

How do we move, precisely, to successfully accomplish our goal without, in the process, negating our goal?

When do we move?

Once we realize what has to be done and also how to do it, we enter the political movement, and after that, the way that we move defines us politically. The explanation as to why we choose to move in a certain way requires a psychiatrist -- for us, Fanon. (By now, we should all have studied Fanon's THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH.)

We believe that Huey P. Newton, after carefully defining our present situation, discovered the form that our struggle must take in order to successfully achieve our goal. And he also showed us when to move.

Huey defined the situation of Black people inside the United States as a domestic colony of U.S. Imperialism. A colony inside the very lair of the rapacious beast of imperialism. A colony sharing the same land mass as the colonizers, the population of the colony dispersed throughout the population of the colonial power. Neither separated by either land or water.

Huey defined the police department as the strong-arm force used by the imperialists to suppress the colonized people, terrorize them, and keep them in check. This is a constant process of brutalization, because the people are constantly moving to break their chains. Huey said that the police departments occupy our Black communities in the same way and for the same purpose as a foreign troop occupies conquered territory. To free ourselves from the system of oppression, Huey said that we had to liberate ourselves from this strong-arm force. We had to break the power of the gun which this strong-arm force relies on to keep us at bay. Because of the very nature of the conflict, Huey said that we must use guns to offset the guns of the pigs.

"We must organize ourselves in a political fashion and take up arms," Huey would say.

When looking at Black people as a whole, Huey saw that the brothers and sisters off the block, the Black Lumpen within the urban centers, constituted the explosive point, that section of our people so situated that they have no choice but to move. Historically, the White racist system of oppression and exploitation has held out only death and destruction to our people as an alternative to slavery.

The prospects for brothers and sisters off the block are prison, death, the U.S. Armed Forces, or a short, hard, and bitter life. All alternatives provided for us by the system have in common that we are unnaturally destroyed-destroyed by the very functioning of the system of oppression, which is controlled by other men of another social class. The only redeeming path left open to us is the path of total war against the system of oppression against which each succeeding generation of our people have struggled for 400 years.

Pigs stand in line with programs and games of disaster to run down on Black people. But now that Black people have begun to run down a program for themselves, pigs get uptight. The foundation of the Black Panther Party is the 10 Point Program and Platform. This is why the hand picked apologists for the system of oppression always try to criticize and belittle our Program and Platform. Some of them say that it is not revolutionary. Others say that it is full of hate. But it is our own program and platform, drawn up for ourselves by ourselves. And it will be us who will change it or revise it when and if we see fit. Our ideology is reality and our program and platform is designed to cope with and control the reality of our daily

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METHOD, TIME, AND REVOLUTION

lives, our destiny.

The real daily life of oppressed people is Political Education. Reality becomes their ideology. With them, theory is united with practice because they know that literally they are struggling to survive against odds, against a gigantic international system of oppression that is specifically designed to destroy them. There are other classes of people to whom the oppression is abstract. In a poetic fashion, they know that, theoretically, they are also oppressed, etc. They relate to news of events and we compose the event itself. We relate to the event, they relate to news of the event. We are in a category of our own. America is a class and ethnic society, and the systematic oppression and exploitation of Black people is specifically structured and well-placed in the design of Babylon.

Brother Malcolm made it clear that history defined is ideology. The Black Panther Party says that the historical experiences of Black people is the foundation of our ideology. We transform our history into our ideology when we interpret it with scientific principles of universal application.

When Huey and Bobby launched the Black Panther Party, the only people who were willing to follow them, then, were the stone lumpen. The stomp-down Black lumpen proletariat is the backbone of the Black Panther Party. Without this backbone, the Party would only be a reflection of one of those mother country debating societies that take Marx and Lenin for their text.

The Black Lumpen, the brothers and sisters off the block, can relate to their party, the Black Panther Party, but they cannot relate to the category of the Working Class. From their perspective, the Working Class is part of the problem -- at least the right wing of the Working Class.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT WING OF THE WORKING CLASS IS QUALITATIVELY INDISTINCT FROM THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE LUMPEN AND OTHER CATEGORIES OF PIGS.

Before our people were crushed down into the position of slaves, we were well organized. Our history since that time has been an unbroken struggle to get reorganized. Only by organizing ourselves can we get the freedom, security, and respect that we lost. There are more Black people in the United States than there are pigs of the ruling class. Our population is larger than that of many sovereign nations of the earth. But only by relentlessly struggling can we smash out of the trickbag that we have been placed in.



The LUMPEN

Pigs, White racist pigs, say that Black people should not fight for their rights, that they should be peaceful, moderate, and reasonable. History will show that Black people have pursued their freedom and liberation with the utmost restraint, with patience, and long suffering. In fact, history will show that the pigs drove us to our knees, and that, down on our knees in the Luther King position, we begged for mercy. Down on our knees we begged White racist pigs for mercy. And not only did these pigs deny us justice, they denied us mercy. They denied us humanity itself. So let them criticize our weapons all they want to; Let us move on them, criticizing them with our weapons.

'Mercy' is not a word one should throw around loosely. Mercy is the other side of the coin of Pity. Mercy and Pity are civilized notions. They are, in fact, essential elements of a true civilization. When Mercy and Pity are absent in any social organization, that society cannot be classified as civilized. Measured by that standard, Babylon must be totally destroyed -- and with Pity-Pity each pig heart that we cut out of a pig's chest, Pity it to death.

When we begged for Mercy we were the Blues People. We are not begging anymore and we are Black people. And pigs can't dig it, can't relate to it. For instance, they have provoked us to madness.

Madness. People are right when they say that Black people are not in a position to face down the pigs on their level. But we are in a position to implement head-up murder. We can guarantee the total destruction of Babylon -- with a form of struggle that pigs will call madness. But madness is the Black man's hydrogen bomb inside Babylon, and we must unleash this hydrogen bomb, now, because pigs are carrying out a genocidal conspiracy of extermination against our people. And since we have everything in the pot, why shouldn't everything and everybody in Babylon be in the pot with us? The name of the pot is Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

FROM DEFENDANTS-- N.Y. 21 TO "JUSTICE" MURTAGH

(Sat. March 7, 1970 VOL. IV NO. 14)

This court represents the most ruthless system in the world, caring nothing for the wholesale misery that it brings, while at the same time, your papers are full of verbiage of your "nobility," "righteousness," "justice," "fairness," and the "good" that you do.

We are very, very sick and tired of the BIG LIE. We cannot stand passive to the big lie any longer. We cannot accept it any longer.

It is time to state the truth, for Black people, for poor Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Chinese American, Indian and poor White people. The "AmeriKKKan system of justice" is a hideous sham and a revolting farce.

We must look at the situation objectively. As has been explicitly implied in the preceding, we realize that we are not 2nd Class citizens at all. We are a colonized people. (Read your own commission Reports). We see that we are still considered chattel. We see how the Fugitive Slave Act has been modified in words, but is still being used, how the Dred Scott decision was never really reversed. That the 13, 14, and 15 Amendments of the Constitution did not liberate us--that in fact, in social reality, they only legalized slavery and expanded the Dred Scott decision to include Indians, Spanish-speaking and poor White people.

We see that things have not gotten better, but only progressively worse, and that includes tyranny. We completely oppose racism and tyranny and will continue to do so. You wish us to act according to a Decorum set down by an organization, the "American Bar Association", which is not only racist but is also not against genocide. (Perhaps they realized the truth, and see that the American ruling class is definitely liable, for its treatment of Black people?)

In court you ask us to submit to a code of laws...your laws, not our laws (Black and poor people) but your laws your laws because we were never asked (Black people) if we consented to having them as our laws, nor are these laws relevant to our ghetto reality. They are your laws, and we find them racist and oppressive. They, these law perpetuate our plantation continuation. Right now, in 1970, 90% of the inmates of your prisons are non-White. 90%: And we (Black people, etc.) have never had the right to decide if we wanted to be governed by laws which we had no part in making. Yet, the primary concern of the men who drafted the "Declaration of Independence" was the consent of the governed by laws which they had a part in forming and which was relevant to them. We are in your prison, but these are not our laws. They are your laws, and in dealing with Black and poor people, you don't even adhere to your own laws.

In fact, a leading criminologist, Dr. R.R. Korn of Stanford University, had noted that 80% of the people now in prison were put there illegally according to your own law. (Strange that the overwhelming population is Black and non-White?)

Mr. Murtagh--your record speaks for itself. You are known in the ghetto as a "Hanging Judge". (How many Black and White poor men did you convict without their even having council just in 1969 alone, in your clever slick way?) Frank Hogan and his aides are well known--very well known in the Ghetto--known for what they are--racist and unethical. (We have knowledge of cases, since our incarceration of Assistant District Attorneys, or D.A.'s men posing as legal aides to get conviction). But in our case you and Mr. Hogan have gotten together and have out done yourselves in denying us all, everyone of our "alleged" state, federal and human rights. The record clearly shows this, when not clouded with the mist of racism.

A) Let us clear up one basic misconception. You constantly refer to this case as a "criminal" trial, while all of the time we know, you know, Frank Hogan knows, the people know, the other prisoners and even the guards know that this in not a criminal trial. Everyone knows that this is a political trial, for if we were not members of the Black Panther Party, a lot of things would never have been done to us in the first place.

Why are we not allowed to be with other prisoners? Why are we not allowed to even talk to the other prisoners? Why are we isolated? (Something we might say or do that can open their eyes, perhaps?) Alleged murderers and rapists are not treated in this manner, even "convicted murderers and rapists are not treated in the manner in which we were treated. Why do you persist in the big lie? It is one of many clear contradictions.

B) On April 2, 1969, hordes of "police" broke down our doors, or otherwise forced entry into our homes, and ran amuck. Rampaging and rummaging through our homes, they seized articles from us with wild abandon while having no search warrants. The "police" put us and our families in grave danger, nervously aiming shotguns, rifles and pistols at us and our families--even our children.



A Black man has no rights. "Justice" Murtagh

We were then kidnapped as were some of our families. We state "kidnap" because many of us were never shown any arrest warrant, even to this day. This is illegal. This is a blatant contradiction of your own constitution....We said nothing.

C) Upon the arrest of some of the defendants and before the appearance of any of the defendants, New York City District Attorney Frank Hogan appeared on national radio and national television (Channels 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, snd 11) in a press conference, during which time he gave out information from an "indictment" against us in an inflammatory and provocative manner, deliberately designed to incite the people against us and to deny us even the semblance of a "fair trial". Mr. Hogan implied a lie--that we had been seized on the way to commit these alleged acts with bombs in our hands--rather than the truth--that we had no bombs and that most of us were taken out of our beds.

Subsequent to that press conference, "unidentified police sources" and "persons close to the investigation" stated falsely to the press that we, as members of the Black Panther Party were being aided and abetted by foreign governments considered hostile to your government (i.e. Cuba and China) -- that we, as Black Panther Party members were stealing money from federal and/or state agencies and many other false wild charges, designed to heighten the public alarm against us and our Party, rather than diminish it, so as to create an atmoshpere conducive to the extermination of the Black Panther Party and justify anything that might be done to us.

This unethical behavior gave, aided, and abetted further prejudicial pretrial publicity, in direct contradiction to your law as outlined in the 14th Amendment of your constitution of the United States. Due to this behavior alone, we are positive that we could not get a fair trial anywhere in this country....We still said nothing.

D) When our attorneys learned of our arrest, they attempted to see us, as we were being held in your District Attorneys' office. They were refused permission to do so. At the "arraignment" a similar request by our counsel was again refused by Mr. Charles Marks who presided thereat. Their refusals were in blatant violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States....We continued to be silent.

E) At this "arraignment" this Mr. Charles Marks who was presiding, refused to read, explain or give us a copy of this "indictment" against us. This is another violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14 Amendments of your Constitution of the United States ....yet, we remained silent.

F) Bail (ransom) was set at $100,-000, which is ridiculous and tantamount to no bail at all. This is another violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. We state that this bail is not only contradictory to your own law, but that it is also racist. When White "radical" groups are arrested, their bails do not usually exceed $10,000. When three Yemenites were charged with "conspiracy" to murder your President Nixon, and with the equipment to do such, their bail was $25,000; when Minutemen in New York were arrested and charged with a conspiracy to commit murder, the murder of 155 persons and were arrested with bombs and guns more than enough to do this. Bail was set at $25,000. We had no bombs. Our bail was $100,000....We remained silent.

G) At this arraigmment, this Mr. Charles Marks, the same "Judge" who is alleged to have signed the "Arrest Warrants", stated in words or substance that he was accepting all of the allegations in the "indictment" against us to be true. On subsequent hearings during April and May 1969, concerning reduction of ransom (bail) at which this same Mr. Marks still presided, he stated that we were "un-American" and that the law "did not apply to us" (sounds of history?). This does not quite show impartiality....Yet we said nothing.

H) Our counsel have been in front of at least 35 "Judges" concerning our bail, and this attitude permeates the "great American system of justice". All motions on this were denied, either without comment or because of the "seriousness" of the "charge", but never dealing with the Constitutional issues involved, and it is your Constitution. All of this seems to underlie "judge" Marks' remarks... Yet, we said nothing.

I) We have been treated like animals-- in fact, like less than animals. On January 17, 1969, Miss Joan Bird was kidnapped, beaten, and tortured. She was punched and beaten, given the "Thumb Torture", hung upside down by the ankle from out of a third-story window of a "Police Precinct". On April 2-3, 1969, all of us were placed under constant abuse and harassment, which included 24-hour lock-in, complete isolation, no library or recreation, lights kept on in our cells for 24 hours, physical assaults, deprivations of seeing our families, at times denied mattresses, medication, sheets showers, pillow-cases, towels, soap, toothpaste, and toilet paper.

Our families have suffered abuse in visiting us, and mental anguish. One of us suffered the loss of a child because of this. Some of our families had to go on welfare because of our outrageous incarceration and ransom. We were denied mail, even from our attorneys--denied access to consult all together with our attorneys. We have been subjected to the most erroneous barbaric of jail conditions. The objective of all this was our psychological and physical destruction during our pre-trial detention.

As Newsweek Magazine even states, "...the handling of the suspects between their arrest and their trial was something less than a model of American criminal justice," and "none of it was very becoming to the state...". (How well we know.) All this is a blatant violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your own Federal Constitution...Yet, we still remained silent.

J) You -- Murtagh. You came into the case in May 1969. You were informed of these conditions. You could have righted these blatant violations of your own law, the laws you have "sworn" to uphold. But you did not. You refused to do this... and remained silent. You tried to rush us pell-mell to trial, knowing full well that we were not, could not, be prepared....We remained silent.

We filed motions that are guaranteed to "citizens" by the 14th Amendment of your Federal Constitution. You denied them all. You denied us the rights as guaranteed in your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your own Constitution, to conduct a voir dire of the Grand Jury in these proceedings, knowing full well that they did not comprise members of our peer group...We remained silent.

You denied us a hearing with which to be confronted with the witnesses against us, as is guaranteed by your law in the 6th Amendment of your Constitution...We remained silent.

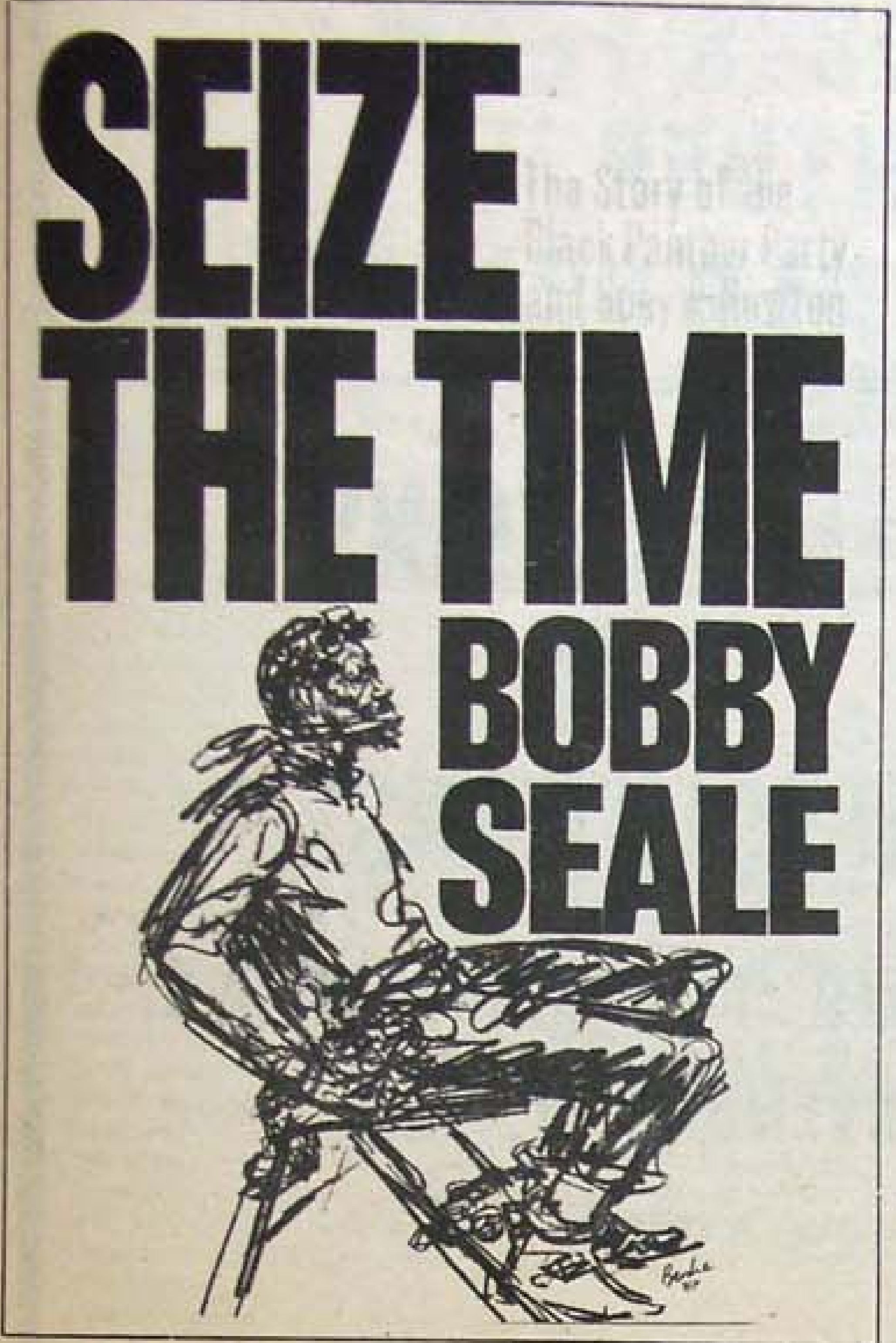
You denied us a Bill of Particulars which is guaranteed by your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution....We remained silent.

Two "suspects" were kidnapped under the modification of the Fugitive Slave Act in November 1969. You gave then no bail. (No sense pretending anymore, it seems)....We remained silent.

You denied us every state and federal constitutional right, and remained silent. You substantiated Mr. Marks' "the law does not apply" to us....Yet, we remained islent.

K) Lee Berry. Lee Berry is a classical example of how you and your cohorts conduct the "American System of Justice" when dealing with Black

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This is an excerpt of the book, "Seize the Time" which was written recently by Chairman Bobby Seale, while in the New Haven jail. This book gets over the message to do as the title of the book states. And the Chairman runs down the experiences of himself, Huey, and the Black Panther Party, up to the incident in Chicago and now New Haven. In "Seize the Time" the Chairman expresses the goals of the people's political party and the people's liberation struggle, and the necessity to gain it by any means necessary. We're sure that "Seize the Time" will open the minds for new and correct ideas, as to what the Black Panther Party, and the struggle for Black people's national liberation is all about.

SEIZE THE TIME



(Sat. June 6, 1970 Vol. IV No. 27)

After a week-long journey cross-country in chains, Bobby Seale arrived in Chicago where he was held in the Cook County Jail. One of the original eight defendants in the Conspiracy Trial, Seale remained in Chicago until severed from the case.

[CHICAGO: MY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS ARE DENIED ME]

THE TRIAL FINALLY GOT UNDER WAY the next day. I was in the hospital at the time, and I was allowed to keep my legal stuff with me. Meanwhile I was waiting for a message to come from Garry. Finally I got a phone call through to Garry's office. I talked to Barney Dreyfus, Garry's law partner, and I asked him if Garry was definitely going into the hospital or had he changed his mind. His doctors said he had better go have that gall bladder operation right away because it would be a real danger to his life not to. "Well, I'm going to ask the judge to postpone my part of the trial so that I can have Garry," I said, "because I can't function without Garry, and I don't want these other lawyers here. Let Garry know what I'm doing, and then maybe after he gets out of the hospital we can go on." Dreyfus mentioned that they had talked to the Panther Party Central Committee about my situation, and the Central Committee also agreed that since I had a legal right to fire the lawyers I should do it.

And boom! That's what happened. That night I was in the hospital and wrote out my first motion which was a request that I be allowed to fire the lawyers and postpone the trial until Charles Garry could defend me. The next morning, Friday, I got up and went to the trial, and when I got to the defense table I told Kunstler that I was going to fire everybody. One of the defendants said, "Man, that's going to make it look like all of the defendants are splitting."

I said, "Man, the defendants aren't splitting. I'm not splitting from you cats. It's just that my situation is very different, man, in a lot of ways. These cats stuck me on the tail end of this indictment to try to railroad me to prison so I need Garry here and everybody knows it. Garry's my lawyer. I haven't confirmed any of these other lawyers. I'm not going to be letting Hoffman pick and choose my lawyer for me, when he knows that Garry is my lawyer, my attorney of record."

The marshal waved the gavel and said, "All rise," and everybody rose. "This court is now in session pursuant to adjournment." Boom. Boom. Boom. "The 'Honorable' Julius J. Hoffman presiding." At that point I got up and walked to the podium and told him, "I'd like to read a statement concerning my legal defense."

"Don't you have a lawyer?" Hoffman asks.

"No," I said. "I want to read this statement concerning my defense." So I read the statement. I got to the point in the statement where I said, ". . . and if you don't respect my Constitutional rights then I'm going to have to consider you a blatant racist who's prejudiced against all the other defendants and myself in particular."

"Hold it! Hold it! Hold it!" Hoffman interrupted me. "What did you say?"

"A blatant racist," I replied. "I consider you a racist just like all the other judges who saw people's Constitutional rights violated in the South through the history of this country." He didn't know where I was coming from. I was coming from the fact that a month before the trial started, he'd already denied Charles Garry's motion for a postponement on the basis that he had to go into the hospital for an operation. He said my motion would be denied.

"Well, young man, you have a lawyer. Mr. Kunstler's your lawyer."

"No, he's not my lawyer," I said, and I argued the point. During the first week or so, I got up three or four or five times in this manner. I tried to argue, and when I'd start saying, "But Judge Hoffman, you're wrong. I have a Constitutional right," he'd say, "Take the jury out!" When I made that first motion that first Friday morning, not one witness had been sworn in on the part of the prosecution. Not one. This is very important, because by law, the trial isn't considered begun until a witness is sworn in . . .

Now I had nothing personal against Kunstler, because I



know that Kunstler is in the struggle and he is supposed to be a good lawyer. I was just upholding the principle that I had a right to my own lawyer. From there on, for about two or three weeks, it was me standing up whenever my name was mentioned. Most of the time when I stood up Hoffman would say to Kunstler, "You are the lawyer for Mr. Seale." And I'd say, "No, he's not my lawyer. I want to request the right to have my own lawyer, Charles R. Garry, here, or the right to defend myself."

Hoffman didn't even investigate; he didn't care. A judge is supposed to at least investigate a person's positions, especially regarding his legal defense. But he didn't.

AS I GOT MORE LEGAL INFORMATION, I began to argue harder. I got hold of material about an old Reconstruction law, Section 1941 of the U.S. Government Code, that says a black man cannot be discriminated against in any manner, in any court in America, concerning "legal defense." When I got hold of that—Oh, man! It was a real thing with me, because I knew I was right by the laws, the Sixth Amendment, etc. . . .

Before I was gagged, Hoffman actually got to the point where he'd shout over me. I'd jump up and start talking rather fast, saying, "Judge Hoffman, you know darn well I have a right to have my own lawyer here or else a right to defend myself." He'd start talking real loud over me: "Take the jury out! Take the jury out! I don't want to hear this man. Mr. Marshal, set that man down! Take the jury out!" He did this so the court reporter would only record what Hoffman was saying and not what I was saying. But I got hip to him. I saw the tactics he was using, so every time he started raising his voice I'd raise my voice too . .

One morning one of the marshals comes back into the lockup before court started and says, "Bobby, you've got a lot of Black Panthers, a lot of black people out there that's on your side today. I hope nothing happens."

"Well, there ain't nothing going to happen," I said. "They're here to observe. They've got a right to observe. They've got a right to be in there."

"Well, the judge told us to go over and sit you down and I just don't want any of them to start anything."

"They're not going to start nothing," I replied.

Five minutes later they came back and got me. Court still hadn't started. All the defendants were scattered around the defense table. Schultz, Foran [government attorneys] were around the prosecution's table. I said, "Brothers and sisters in the audience, I want to say a few things to you. You've been noticing for the past weeks in this courtroom that I've been getting threatened by the judge and they're talking about gagging me and all this kind of crap, but I have a right to speak out in my own behalf. But I don't want you cats out there to get upset and get emotional and start doing anything that's out of the ordinary," I said. "You've got a right to be participants here. You've got a right to observe this trial and see what's going on. If anything happens, don't do anything unnecessary.

"If anybody attacks us, we defend ourselves. That's the principle of the Party. Whether they have a gun or not, if they attack us, we defend ourselves. If they make us leave the courtroom, they just make us leave the courtroom. We leave. But don't nobody do nothing; keep your cool."

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PRIEST VISITS HUEY

(FATHER TAYLOR IS A PRIEST OF THE STEUBENVILLE, OHIO, DIOCESE.)

by Rev. Gus Talor, Jr.

Special to the National Catholic Reporter

OAKLAND— It was rather clear, that day in September when I approached the white-faced Alameda county jail. I didn't know quite what to expect -- of the sheriff, or of Huey (if I would get to see him) or of my own reaction.

My mind was hazy about the facts of Huey's case. A carfull of police (locally called "pigs") stopped a car of Black Panthers. Words and shots ensued. One policeman was killed, another wounded. Two Black Panthers were wounded, one of whom was Huey Newton (founder of the Panthers) who was accused of murder.

One thing was true and will be true right on into eternity. The police hated the Panthers in general and Huey in particular. The feeling was quite mutual.

I happened to be a black priest, visiting the Bay Area. Talk of Huey and his fate seemed to fill Oakland, Berkeley, Frisco, the nation. Strangely enough, I felt what happened to him happens to Black Everyman. Visiting him, it was like visiting myself in jail.

How would Huey take me, a black Catholic priest, serving quite obviously under a white power structure, pope and bishop and all? Had he read what we black priests observed in a Caucus -- that "the Catholic church in the United States is primarily a white racist institution, has addressed itself primarily to white society and is definitely a part of that society"?

These were the thoughts that crossed my mind as I rode the elevator to the jail on the 10th floor of the courthouse building. Then, too, would the sheriff allow our meeting?

Surprisingly, clergy credentials were sufficient for the sheriff to grant the visit. So I waited in a small glassed-in room for Huey to be "delivered." I expected an angry and bitter young man, probably because I would have been such in his case. I expected a suspicious mien, defensive air and little initiative to sustain a conversation with me. In short, the case and all its details made me await a man uptight and in a state of siege.

After a few minutes, a medium sized, 26-year-old, reddish-brown skinned lad appeared, wearing a white uniform. As the deputy left him at the door, he smiled warmly and shook my hand like I was an old buddy. He told me that he expected the visitor to be his attorney, since few individuals are allowed private sit-down sessions with jail "guests" (and especially with him, I thought).

Every great once-in-a-while in a person's life, he meets someone who is CLEAR. It's hard to define a clear person. It's somewhat like that September day on which we visited.

As one thing led to another in our conversation, several items emerged. I was encountering a person who was really at peace, at one with himself. He wasn't smoldering beneath the skin, repressing his hatred against the Man, the "pig," mankind in general. If anything at all, he smoldered with a rare, almost uncanny understanding of the black movement, himself, and the racist society that put him there.

"We're againt the oppressor," he said, "whether he be white or black."

He spoke about his friendship with Stokely Carmichael and how the Panthers had "drafted" Stokely away from SNCC to be their prime minister at large.

He went on in detail about the shoot-out, and about the injustices of the trial.

He explained to me the 10-point program of black liberation. "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people" is Point No. 7 and first on their agenda for implementation.

There wasn't a bit of self-pity in Newton. Somehow his speech revealed how he transcended all the things he had to endure. Many times he must have cried within himself. Yet he didn't let his load get the best of him. One could tell that his body was jailed, but his spirit was free.

Over and beyond all worry for himself it was most obvious that the future of the black movement was his overriding concern. Black people must one day be free ... Black people must one day be free. Freedom won't come automatically. It must come through a radical program of liberation. And the Black Panthers was one party with such a program.

Above all, Huey Newton revealed himself to me as fully a man, a man standing high among men. He didn't look backwards or dwell in the past. Instead, he continued to dream dreams and see visions of liberation one day -- and he shared them with me.

Somewhat clumsily, I blurted how I empathize with him and how I see out of his eyes, and that, so far as I was concerned, it mattered little whether or not he was actually guilty of killing -- because I so well understood the situation, considering the backdrop of the whole black-white absurdity. (And besides, Huey was I and I was Huey and Huey became Black Everyman in my eyes.)

Huey laughed with me at my empathy. "I sure appreciate your feeling like that ... but, you know, Father, really I DIDN'T do it. I don't know whose bullet did hit that cop." I believed him. Remote as I was from any direct evidence either way, I believed him. Blaise Pascal once observed how the heart of man has its reasons which reason itself doesn't grasp.

The name of Huey Newton will never let me forget Oakland where he was in jail. There was scarcely a block in the Bay Area where you didn't see a "Free Huey" sign. Or other signs, like ''Panther Power," or "Free Huey or the Sky's the Limit" -- all of which are geared to rouse black men from their state of stupor and brainwash, and white men from their cool, calm non-challenge of letting white "law and order" do in Huey.

Pardon me, Huey. The last thing I'd want to do is to stuff you unwillingly in the Christian bag. In Catholic circles they talk about the "anonymous Christian." One who claims that he's never really met Christ and yet acts as his disciple is an anonymous Christian. Again, pardon me, Huey, but I do think that your black thing is deeply Christian.

I showed Huey how we Catholics give the hand-and-shoulder embrace at mass. It's called the Kiss of Peace, I told him.

We exchanged this sign of brotherhood. We told each other to "keep on pushing." I left.

1970 SELECTED WORKS FROM " THE BLACK PANTHER," BLACK COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER



Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense and Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party

DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON D.C. NOVEMBER 27, 1970

(Sat. Dec. 5, 1970 Vol. V No. 23)

This convention of revolutionary peoples from oppressed communities throughout the world is convened in recognition of the fact that the changing social conditions throughout the worldrequire new analysis and approaches in order that our consciousness might be raised to the point where we can effectively end the oppression of people by people. We gather here from our communities because we realize that we have a common enemy, a common goal, and that the geographical barriers which separated us from one another in the past are no longer obstacles to our revolutionary unity.

Not only do we recognize our commonalities, we further recognize that the concepts and ideas which were previously used to define us as peoples can no longer apply for they dim our view and impede our progress. The same phenomena which have freed us from the separation of geographical barriers are also the same phenomena which have transformed us into a revolutionary unity.

We once defined ourselves as nations because we had distinct geographical boundaries, we controlled the economy, the political structure and the institutions in our territories. In this sense the United States was also a nation at one time.

We see, however, that the growth of bureaucratic capitalism in the United States transformed the nation. When capitalism in the nation reached a high level of development it reached beyond the national boundaries to exploit the wealth and labor of other territories. We further notice that this exploitation of the wealth of other nations was combined with control of their political structure and their cultural institutions. This was done through the use of the high levels of technology developed by bureaucratic capitalism. This technology made it possible for the strong arm of the capitalist to reach into every corner of the world and use its police force commonly called the military to carry out its desires. This technology has made it possible for the capitalist to control the air waves and communications media of other territories and thereby manipulate their cultural institutions.

We recognize, then, that the greed of bureaucratic capitalism in America, the effectiveness of the police force of the ruling circle and the swiftness with which their "Message" can be sent to these territories has transformed the previous situation. We recognize this when we admit that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire. However, an empire by definition controls other territories and in so doing transforms the former nations. If a nation cannot protect its boundaries and prevent the entry of an aggressor, if a nation cannot control its political structure and its cultural institutions then it is no longer a nation, it must be something else. Thus our presence here is a recognition that the United States has transformed other nations into something else.

Our new understandings lead us to the recognition that we must ally ourselves with the oppressed communities of the world. Therefore, we cannot make our stand as nationalists, we cannot even make our stand as internationalists, we must place our hopes upon the philosophy of intercommunalism, a philosophy which holds that the rise of imperialism in America transformed all other nations into oppressed communities. In revolutionary love we must make common cause with these oppressed communities.

We must do this because we realize that we are also from oppressed communities here. We are aware that many of us present are the descendants of those who were dispossessed from their lands to permit capitalism to flourish. We are aware that many of us here are the descendants those who were captured andenslaved so that their labor could build the wealth of this nation. But we are also aware that the capitalists used the philosophy of racism to support their wicked oppression. Through the philosophy of racism all those in this country have been taught that people are better than others because of differences in physical and social characteristics, and therefore they have a right to exploit the other.

This Constitutional Convention of Revolutionary Peoples is gathered here to organize our forces to move against the evils of capitalism, imperialism and racism which have been used to oppress people. We will move against the evil and corrupt gentry by any means necessary and sufficient to take away the power which he has wielded too selfishly for too long.

We who are gathered here by our presence do resolve to liberate our communities from the boot and whip of the oppressor so that the people of good will may live their lives free from want, free from fear, and free from need. We recognize that the Chinese people under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung, the Korean people under the leadership of Kim Il Sung, and the Algerian people rose up against the oppressor and liberated the people's territory from his hands. Consequently, other oppressed people such as Brother Eldridge Cleaver have a liberated community where they can live in peace and harmony. These courageous revolutionaries have set an example for us to also liberate our communities and give freedom to those who have sought so long to bask in its glow.

There can be no real freedom until the imperialist --World enemy number one-- has been stripped of his power and put in his rightful place as one of the people rather than the ruler of the people. Then and only then will unity and harmony truly prevail. So we resolve to liberate our communities in order that we might serve the true interests of the community.

We who are gathered here by our presence do indicate that we believe that every community has the right to define, determine and control its institutions so that they reflect the integrity of the community.

Therefore we declare that all communities of the world have the freedom to determine their own destinies. We declare that all communities, by their very existence, have the power to specify what institutions will be set up within them and what cultural values will be propagated through them. We declare that all communities have the right to determine what laws will govern their territories and what officials will be placed in leadership to carry out the true interests of the people and meet their needs.

We who are gathered here do declare by our presence that the physical and social characteristics of the people of our communities shall never be used as a basis for exclusion from any aspect of the life of our communities.

All people from all communities have the right to write their own constitutions for self-governance and to live according to their needs and desires.

We declare that our goal is to destroy all elements of the oppression which has gone on for so many years. We pledge ourselves to end imperialism and distribute the wealth of the world to all the people of the world. We forsee a system of true communism where all people produce according to their abilities and all receive according to their needs.

Recognizing the possibility of a cultural lag between the destruction of the oppression and the erection of a new world based on that which makes us human, we call for all people in the communities throughout the world to be represented in decision making and participation in direct proportion to their presence in the population under consideration. Whether on an intercommunal level, a regional level, or on a local level, we hold that all people have the right to proportional representation within the framework of revolutionary intercommunalism and communism.

We are gathered for the solemn purpose of formulating a new constitution for a new world. We must become even more conscious of who we are and why we are in these circumstances, then we must break these circumstances and construct a new world which makes use of all the technology and knowledge we have accumulated to this time. When we have arrived at that which is in the true interests of the people and established it in full, then the world work will only refer to meaningful play. We will have eliminated the cause of all our problems and then we can live according to a constitution of Revolutionary People.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

STATEMENT BY MINISTER XUAN THUY, CHIEF OF THE DELEGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, AT THE 93RD PLENARY SESSION OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIET NAM (DECEMBER 3, 1970)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The 93rd plenary session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam was put off for one week because, as you all know, we protested against the U.S. Government's series of acts of war against an extensive area of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. These acts have serious consequences on the peace of Viet Nam and Indo-china as well as on the future of this conference.



1. The U.S. extremely serious acts of war and tortuous justifications.

From about o2.00 hrs (Hanoi time) November 21, 1970 to 06.00 hrs November 22, 1970, the United States sent over 200 aircraft to intrude into the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to attack over 80 densely populated areas of Vinh Linh region, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh, Hai Phong, Son La, Vinh Phu, and Ha Tay provinces, and the outskirts of Ha Noi. U.S. bombs and shells caused great material and human losses to the population of the abovementioned regions. A detention camp of American pilots captured in North Viet Nam was also hit, and a number of captives wounded.

Determined to defend the country's sovereignty and security, the armed forces of the D.R.V.N. shot down six U.S. aircraft, including one helicopter.

At first, the U.S. authorities denied that there had been bombing and strafing of North Viet Nam. But faced with evident proofs, they had to admit there had been U.S. air raids, all South of the 19th parallel however. We supplied further evidence and they had to acknowledge that there had been U.S. Air force activity north of the 19th parallel to "rescue American pilots detained in a camp 20 miles from Ha Noi" but when the operation failed, U.S. planes left the place without bombing or strafing. Finally, unable to persist in tortuous denials owing to the proofs we had given, they had to admit there had been air attacks, even rocket firing, near Ha Noi. This typifies the fallacy of the Nixon Administration.

However, in order to justify these acts of war and to have a pretext to attack the territory of the D.R.V.N. whenever it likes, the Nixon Administration has advanced most absurd arguments.

Not only has it fabraicated the myth about the "understanding" that would permit the United States to carry out at will reconnaissance flights over North Viet Nam, it has also brazenly invented the so-called "understanding" about an end being put to the shelling of South Vietnamese cities by the South Viet Nam people's liberation armed forces, and about "stopping the penetration" into South Viet Nam through the demilitarized zone.

As the representative of the Government of the D.R.V.N. at the former bilateral conversations between the D.R.V.N. and the United States, I think it necessary to reaffirm once again that the U.S. cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the D.R.V.N. was total and unconditional and that there was no "understanding" whatsoever.

The U.S. authorities also said that their "protective reaction" was aimed at "defending the lives" not only of American pilots carrying out reconnaissance flights over North Viet Nam, but also of American pilots bombing Laos, even of U.S. troops in South Viet Nam! U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird dared to advance these fanciful and arrogant pretexts to threaten to resume the bombing of North Viet Nam; and his spokesman went so far as to consider the non-progress of the Paris Conference as a pretext for the U.S. to perpetrate acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Let it be said at once that the Vietnamese people will not tolerate any U.S. act encroaching on the sovereignty and security of the D.R.V.N.. The U.S. authorities' rampageous threats will only make a thousand times stronger the Vietnamese people's determination and vigour in fighting against the U.S. aggressors.

In an attempt to cover up its war crimes against North Viet Nam, to arouse chauvinistic feelings in the United States and to mislead American and world public opinion that is energetically protesting against these recent acts of war, the Nixon Administration used every means to distort the truth, inventing, for instance, the story of "inhumane treatment of American captive pilots", of "many pilots dying in detention camp", etc.

On December 1st, 1970, Defense Secretary M. Laird stated that he would use military actions, not excluding the use of commandos, to launch rescuing operations against camps of American pilots captured in North Viet Nam. One may ask what international law would permit the United States to resort to such piratical actions?

We wish to declare that the American pilots caught in the act of committing crimes against North Viet Nam are under the authority of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, that the latter has treated them very humanely and will take measures to ensure their safety. The U.S. Government must bear entire responsibility for the adventurous acts it is scheming in this connection.

If the Nixon Administration is really concerned about "defending the lives" of U.S. troops in South Viet Nam, the most correct and the best way it can take is to put an end to its war of aggression and to bring home all the G.I.'s. If it is really concerned about "defending the lives" of American pilots it

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LETTER FROM RED ARMY, JAPAN

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world.

The struggles and thoughts of the Black Panther Party should be known, learned, discussed and also practiced not only in U.S., but also by all oppressed peoples of the world, and we are sure by now that you are fighting for and with all of them. We have often introduced your struggles and thoughts to the people of Japan whenever we could, in the form of writing, posters, and speeches. But we should like to organize a committee to support the Black Panther Party (that is, to support and to fight with all the people fighting for their liberation) to perpetuate and solidify and make effective our solidarity with all the revolutionary peoples of the world. We should like to organize this committee as a mass organization and movement at the beginning whereby the sympathizers learn from you and do whatever they can in whatever form they can afford to, to practice what they will have to learn and developed within themselves. We are sure this movement will extend much encouragement and inspiration and teach examples especially to the 600,000 Korean people in Japan (who have until now been historically and socially alienated and handicapped in educational opportunity, international contacts and access to informations) and to U.S. soldiers in Japan and Okinawa.

Practically, we are willing to distribute your papers, books, records, posters and buttons or whatever, as well as translating, publishing and explaining your thoughts. We will send the contributions from the people to you.

Looking forward to your opinion about this proposal so earnestly.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

International Bureau
Red Army
Japan

STATEMENT BY MINISTER XUAN THUY

continued from last page

must respect the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

2. The Nixon Admistration's policy shows more and more clearly that it is prolonging the war and extending it to the whole of Viet Nam and Indo china.

We have many a time pointedout that the Nixon Admistration talks a great deal of peace while actually making war. Since he came to power, President Nixon has never had the intention of really ending the war in South Viet Nam. On the contrary, he has persistently followed the policy of prolonging the U.S. war of aggression in South Viet Nam and extending it to the whole of Viet Nam and Indochina.

In South Viet Nam, the Nixon Administration advocates the Vietnamization of the war, i.e. the prolongation of the war and the U.S. military occupation. This has become so glaringly evident that there is not the least doubt about it.

In Laos, the United States is striving to intensify its "special war" by bringing in tens of thousands of additional Thai mercenaries and increasing military aids to the Lao reactionary forces. Under U.S. command, these forces have, over the past two years, launched many attacks encroaching on the liberated areas controlled by the Lao patriotic forces. Moreover, U.S. aircraft, including B.52 bombers, have day and night fiercely bombarded these liberated areas.

With regard to the Kingdom of Cambodia, after staging the March 18, 1970 coup d'Etat in Phnom Penh, the United States has since the end of April brought in U.S. and Saigon troops for the invasion of that country. Having been compelled to withdraw its troops, the Nixon Administration ordered the Saigon puppet troops to remain for occupation and sent U.S. aircraft for continued bombing of Cambodian territory, so as to support the puppet troops of Lon Nol and Saigon.

With regard to North Viet Nam, for almost two years now, the Nixon Administration has stepped up its air spying activities and air attacks against the D.R.V.N.. Early in May 1970, in coordination with the military invasion of Cambodia by the United States and the Saigon Administration, during three consecutive days the Nixon Admistration sent hundreds of aircraft for largescale raids against over 40 densely populated areas of Nghe An, Quang Binh provinces and Vinh Linh region, dropping about 700 explosive bombs, tens of thousands of steel-pellet bombs, killing and wounding nearly 100 civilians.

On November 28th and 29th, 1970 after the November 12 and 22, 1970 air attacks that world public opinion is severely condemning, the United States again sent planes to bomb and strafe Huong Lap commune in the northern part of the demilitarized zone, and ordered artillery forces based south of the 17th parallel to shell Vinh Son commune situated north of the 17th parallel, also in the northern part of the demilitarized zone.

The U.S. allegations and recent acts of war have made it clear to everyone that they are paving the way for new acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

All the aforesaid shows that the Nixon Admistration is extending the war, seeking a military victory to settle the Viet Nam problem, deliberately making agresssion against the Indochinese countries and implementing its neo-colonialist policy towards them.

All the aforesaid further proves that the five points put forward on October 7, 1970 by President Nixon are utterly fallacious.

3. The Vietnamese people are resolute to oppose all U.S. aggressive scheme and cruel acts of war.

Like all other peoples in the world, the Vietnamese people deeply love peace and are earnestly attached to independence and freedom.

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." This is the reason why the Vietnamese people, for over a quarter of a century now, have accepted all sacrifices and hardships, this is why they have resolutely and persistently fought for the liberation of their country.

In their struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have enjoyed the support and assistance of the whole of progressive mankind, including the progressive American people.

The seething indignation of the world people, all over the five continents, energetically condemning in various ways the U.S. recent bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a new expression of this lofty militant solidarity.

Let me quote one example in France itself. On November 26, 1970, a huge demonstration was organized in Paris by 42 different organizations with the slogans:

-End the bombing of North Viet Nam!

-All U.S. troops out of Indochina without any conditions!

Another example is the recent World Conference on Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia held in Stockholm from November 28 to November 30, 1970, with the participation of many delegates for the American people. The Declaration of the Conference writes that it "strongly protests against these new acts of war by the U.S. and expresses its full sympathy and solidarity with the gallant Vietnamese people in their resistance against the aggressor."

The Declaration stresses that:

"The Conference demands that U.S. stop unconditionally all acts of violation against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

The Vietnamese people, made strong by their correct policy, by the union and iron determination of the entire nation, by the unreserved sympathy and support of the whole progressive mankind, will win total victory in their just and sacred struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

On the other hand, because more than any other people they desire an early restoration of peace so that they may start rebuilding their war-devastated country, the Vietnamese people have fully shown their good will in seeking a correct peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has put forward its logical and reasonable four-point stand. The National Front for Liberation has advanced its 10-point overall solution, and on September 17, 1970 the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam proposed its eight-point peace initiative, further clarifying the overall solution.

We have repeatedly made it clear that if the Nixon Administration really wants to peacefully settle the Viet Nam problem on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's national fundamental rights and the South Viet Nam people's right to self-determination, it must first of all settle the two basic questions -- the military question and the political question -- as proposed by the eight-point peace initiative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

1) If the U.S. Government declares it will withdraw from South Viet Nam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp by June 30, 1971, the People's Liberation Armed Forces will refrain from attacking the withdrawing troops of the United States and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp; and the parties will engage at once in discussions on:

The question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

-the question of releasing captured militarymen.

2) The United States must renounce the dictatorial, warlike, and corrupt Thieu Ky Khiem administration and let the South Viet Nam people form a provisional coalition government with three components, that will organize free and democratic general elections in South Viet Nam.

On the contrary, if the Nixon Administration obstinately pursues its aggression, prolonging and extending the war, then the Vietnamese people will resolutely implement the sacred testament of President HO CHI MINH and will continue their just struggle till complete victory.

The Nixon Administration is greatly mistaken if it thinks that, by its military adventures against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, it can retrieve the inevitable failure of its policy of war vietnamization in South Viet Nam and prevent the North Viet Nam people from fulfilling their duty towards their compatriots in the South.

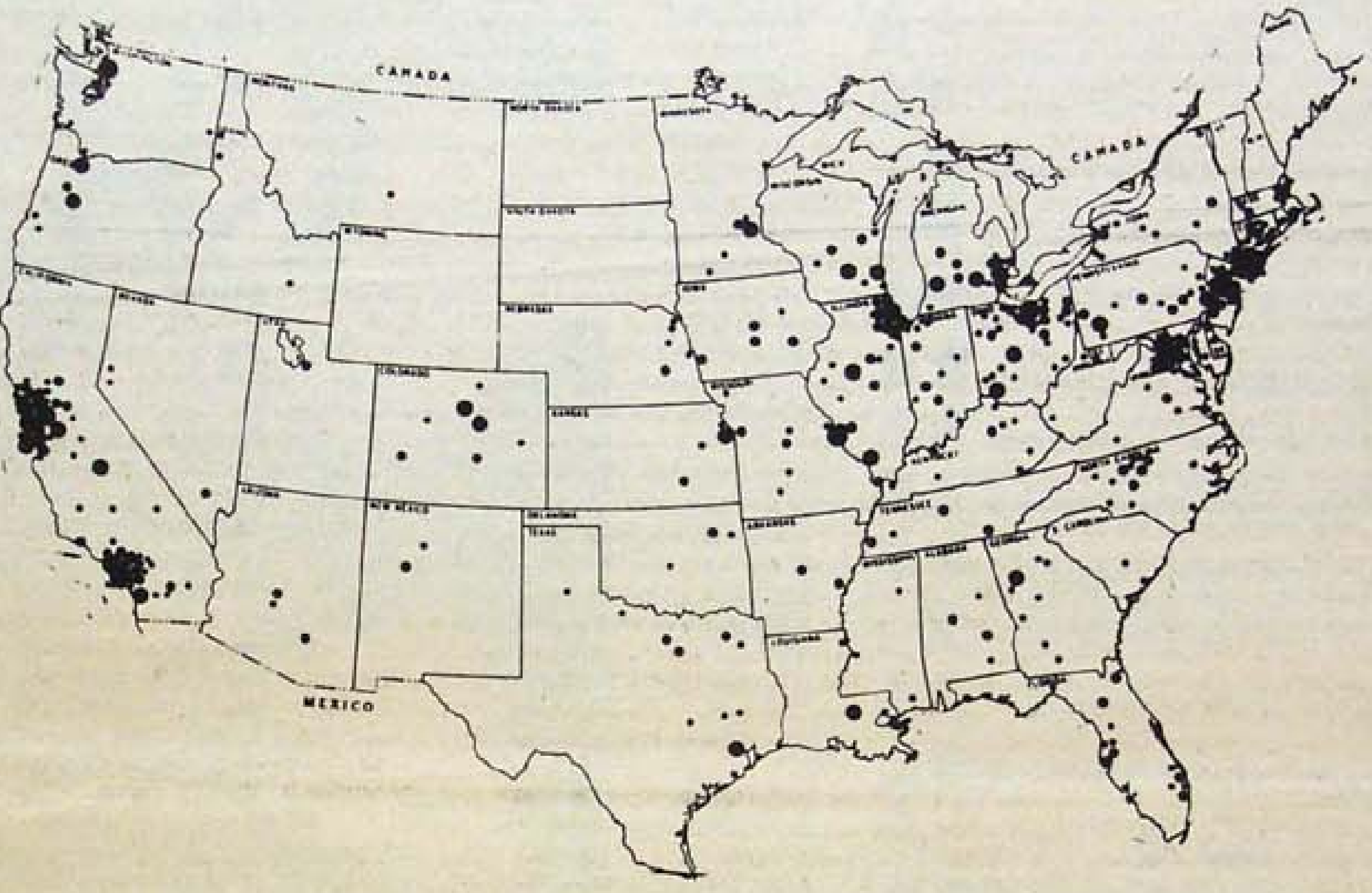
In the past, the Johnson Administration had used air and naval forces in a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the hope of getting the United States out of the South Vietnamese quagmire. But, the people and armed forces of the D.R.V.N. defeated this war of destruction, shot down over 3,000 U.S. planes and always standing shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the South, scored many victories in their struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

The more the United States extends the war to the whole of the Indochinese peninsula, the more the Vietnamese people, faithful to the Joint Declaration of the Indochinese People's Summit Conference, will strengthen their solidarity with the Lao and Cambodian peoples, determined to defeat all U.S. aggression.

The Nixon Administration must bear full responsiblity for the non-progress of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. It must bear full responsiblity for all consequences arising from its acts of war and aggression.

GUERRILLA ACTS OF SABOTAGE AND TERRORISM IN THE UNITED STATES 1965-1970

REPRINTED FROM SCANLAN'S



- 1
- 2-5
- 6-24
- 25 or more

LEGEND

TARGET — METHOD



Government Buildings · Corporations · Homes · High Schools Elementary Schools · Colleges · Police · Military · Sniping · Bomb or Dynamite · Time Bomb · Arson · Molotov Cocktail · Terrorism

PART 2

1967-1968

1967

28 July, Detroit, Mich. One policeman was injured as a result of sniper fire which arose over racial violence.

3 Aug. Peoria, Ill. A store was damaged as sniping of police occurred and a firebomb was thrown.

3 Aug. Milwaukee, Wis. One youth was killed and two others shot as Molotov cocktails were thrown at buildings and police.

8 Aug. Jefferson, Ga. A state prosecutor died when his car went up in flames at his home. Authorities suspected an assassination.

8 Aug. Hartford, Conn. A firebomb caused $200,000 damage to a supermarket.

9 Aug. Chicago, Ill. A firebomb caused $150,000 damage to a MacDonald's Hamburger restaurant.

9 Aug. Chicago, Ill. A firebomb caused $150,000 damage to the Lincoln State Bank.

2 Sept. Cleveland, Ohio. 19 youths arrested after a firebomb was tossed in the home of a policeman.

2 Nov. Houston, Tex. One policeman was shot to death and several others injured after a riot on the Southern University campus.

15 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Two policemen were injured by sniper fire at the Hunters Point Police Station.

22 Nov. Chicago, Ill. Police were the target of sniper fire on the South Side. 220 arrests were mode.

12 Dec. Atlanta, Ga. A police informer's home was firebombed.

16 Dec. Wash., D.C. The home of the president of Howard University was firebombed.

24 Dec. San Francisco, Calif. A percussion bomb went off in Park Police Station causing light damage.

30 Dec. Los Angeles, Calif. A downtown motel and storage tank were dynamited.

1968

16 Jan. Nashville, Tenn. Two policemen were fatally shot by five people when they stopped car to question them about a theft.

20 Jan. Walnut Creek, Calif. Windows were shattered in the police station when a bomb exploded.

31 Jan. Kalamazoo, Mich. A firebomb caused $12,000 damage to the National Guard Storage Building.

19 Feb. San Diego, Calif. A police car was shot at in the southeast area of the city.

20 Feb. Lorman, Miss. Three policemen were injured in sniping and throwing of furniture and bottles at police.

25 Feb. San Diego, Calif. Police car was shot at in the southeast area of the city.

12 Mar. New York, N.Y. The General Telephone Building was bombed. The explosion caused heavy damage.

16 Mar. Gainesville, Fla. Shots were fired at a police officer called to investigate the theft of wallet at restaurant in a slum area.

16 Mar. Washington, D.C. Two Safeway stores were bombed, causing $400 damage.

19 Mar. Norwalk, Conn. An explosive device detonated outside police department.

20 Mar. Berkeley, Calif. An electrical tower furnishing power to the University of California was dynamited in Tilden Park.

23 Mar. Berkeley, Calif. Two telephone trunk lines were dynamited.

25 Mar. Juneau, Alaska. The Coast Guard Cutter Baratoria, just returned from Vietnam, was damaged by an explosion.

30 Mar. Chicago, Ill. Fires were started at Wieboldt's Department Store and Montgomery Ward's. No estimate of damage was released.

30 Mar. Chicago, Ill. Six fires were started at the Carson Pirie Scott & Co. Department Store.

31 Mar. New York, N.Y. The Induction Center was "shaken" by a dynamite blast.

1 Apr. New York, N.Y. Arson fires, set off by Molotov cocktails, hit S. Klein's, Montgomery Ward's, Gimbel's, and Bloomingdale's department stores, causing $20 million damages.

4 Apr. Detroit, Mich. Two policemen were wounded by gunfire during a civil disturbance.

4 Apr. Greensboro, N.C. Three policemen were wounded by shotgun blasts, one critically.

4 Apr. Memphis, Tenn. Three policemen were injured in sporadic sniping.

5 Apr. Deerfield Beach, Fla. Police officers in a ghetto area were targets of rock throwing and sniper fire.

5 Apr. High Point, N.C. Two police cars were hit by sniper bullets. No injuries were reported.

5 Apr. Tallahassee, Fla. Sporadic gunfire and arrows were shot at campus police of university.

5 Apr. Wilmington, N.C. Police cars were shot at by snipers.

5 Apr. San Francisco County, Calif. A massive bulldozer was used to topple a 90-ft. P.G.&E. tower. This was called the latest in a series of utilities sabotages.

6 Apr. Gainesville, Fla. A deputy was shot at during a demonstration.

6 Apr. St. Louis, Mo. Sixteen firms were firebombed, causing varied damage.

7 Apr. East Albany, Ga. A shotgun and a .22 caliber rifle were used in the ambush of a police cruiser.

7 Apr. Jacksonville, Fla. Two shots were fired at a police car during a disturbance.

7 Apr. Malvern, Ark. A sniper fired a .38-caliber pistol into a police car.

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1968

7 Apr. Frederick, Md. A hundred people attacked police cars.

9 Apr. Petersburg, Va. Sniper gunfire and rock throwing were aimed at police officers.

15 Apr. Memphis, Tenn. Arson fires were started at several luxury department stores and a cocktail lounge.

16 Apr. Pittsburg, Calif. During a disturbance patrolling sheriffs were fired upon by snipers. One sheriff received a minor wound.

22 Apr. Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. A police car was fired into seriously wounding one officer. One youth was arrested for vandalism and shooting.

4 May. Chicago, Ill. A police car was fired on by an unknown sniper. The three shots came from the area of a nearby apartment house.

7 May. Chicago, Ill. Two police officers were shot when they attempted to question two suspects.

18 May. Catonsville, Md. The files of the local Induction Center were damaged by Philip Berrigan & the Catonsville 9.

27 May. Wilkinsburg, Pa. A police officer's home was firebombed and gutted. There were no injuries.

28 May. East St. Louis, Ill. Four persons attempted to murder a policeman who was trying to question them about a gun thrown from their car.

31 May. Chicago, Ill. Police attempted to arrest a female suspect. A crowd gathered and became unruly. Two policemen injured by shots fired and 12 persons arrested.

1 June. Philadelphia, Pa. A group of three fired five shots from a shotgun at police officers. Three police officers were hit with pellets, but none were seriously injured.

2 June. East St. Louis, Ill. Three men were arrested after shooting at two plainclothes policemen.

5 June. Chicago, Ill. One policeman was shot and killed by two unidentified men.

5 June. San Francisco, Calif. Three power towers of PG&E were toppled by a bomb.

13 June. Carson City, Nev. The governor's mansion was fired upon. No injuries or damage reported.

13 June. Sunnyvale, Calif. Ten thousand rounds of .22-caliber ammunition were stolen from the Moffett Field Naval Installation.

23 June. South Bend, Ind. Sniper shots were fired through the window of a police car.

24 June. Hollywood, Calif. A shrapnel bomb caused heavy damage to a local Selective Service office. No injuries were reported.

27 June. Owensboro, Ky. A police car was shot at by a sniper.

3 July. Harvey, Ill. Two Molotov cocktails were thrown at a police car.

4 July. Omaha, Neb. Police were stoned and shots were fired at a police car by a sniper.

9 July. Warren, Ohio. The Fashion Barn, a women's store, was bombed, causing $10,000-$20,000 damage.

10 July. Lorain, Ohio. A bomb mailed to a teacher who taught at a school in Cleveland's ghetto area resulted in his death.

10 July. Sacramento, Calif. Firebombs were thrown at Governor Reagan by "youths." No injuries or damage were reported.

11 July. Topeka, Kan. A firebomb was thrown through a window of the police information center.

12 July. Denver, Colo. Incendiary devices were set off at a Denver Police Garage.

13 July. Roslyn Harbor, N.Y. The private car of E. H. Nickerson, executive of the Nassau Company, was found with a grenade wired to the heater switch.

18 July. Seattle, Wash. A police car was fired on from a group of 100-200 youths. Rocks were also thrown.

19 July. Louisville, Ky. Dynamite was found in the home of Governor Nunn.

20 July. Denver, Colo. When a policeman responded to an alarm at a store located in a ghetto area, he was fired upon and wounded. He then shot and seriously wounded a youth.

21 July. Benton Harbor, Mich. A police car was burned by a firebomb.

21 July. San Francisco, Calif. A one-story building containing a military uniform manufacturer was leveled. No injuries were reported.

22 July. Newark, N.J. A police director was shot at in his home.

22 July. New Orleans, La. A policeman was shot at by a sniper while in his patrol car.

23 July. Benton Harbor, Mich. Firebombs aimed at the mayor and a local judge caused little damage.

23 July. Cleveland, Ohio. An ambush of policemen was followed by looting, firebombing, and a large scale disturbance. Eleven persons were killed, including three policemen. Fourteen policemen and ten civilians were hospitalized.

24 July. Cleveland, Ohio. A riot, arson fires and sniper fire broke out injuring 15 police, killing three civilians and three police. No damage was reported.

25 July. Cleveland, Ohio. Sniper fire injured two civilians and two policemen, and killed two civilians and three policemen.

27 July. Peoria, Ill. Policemen were hit by rocks after responding to a phony call for help. At least nine policemen were hit by shotgun pellets. Three of them were hospitalized.

27 July. Brooklyn, N.Y. A police car was firebombed and destroyed.

28 July. Gary, Ind. Policemen were fired at by an unknown assailant.

29 July. Seattle, Wash. Three policemen were wounded by sniper fire.

31 July. Pittsburg, Calif. A police car responding to a call in the El Pueblo Housing Project met with gunfire and rock throwing. The police suffered no injuries.

31 July. San Francisco, Calif. A police car with two members of the Mayor's Crime Commission responded to a report of firebombing in a Hunters Point Housing Project, and shots were fired at their car.

31 July. New York, N.Y. Two rifle shots hit a police car cruising south on Harlem River Drive.

31 July. Seattle, Wash. After the arrest of two men, sniper fire and firebombing erupted, injuring two policemen.

31 July. Peoria, Ill. After a pregnant woman was "roughly" arrested, a riot broke out, including firebombings, which injured one civilian and ten policemen.

1 Aug. Marin City, Calif. The substation of the Sheriff's Office was hit by rifle fire. No injuries were reported.

2 Aug. Brooklyn, N.Y. Two policemen were seriously injured by shotgun sniper fire when they responded to an apparently fictitious call about a family quarrel.

2 Aug. St. Petersburg, Fla. A police officer's car was firebombed and destroyed.

3 Aug. Las Vegas, Nev. A policeman was shot in the back and killed.

4 Aug. New York, N.Y. The Globe Department Store was firebombed.

4 Aug. Waukegan, Ill. Rifles were fired at police who were responding to a call at the Waukegan Shopping Plaza.

4 Aug. Wichita Falls, Tex. A policeman was severely beaten by an unknown assailant.

4 Aug. York, Pa. Snipers fired at a police armored vehicle during a disturbance.

5 Aug. Jackson, Mich. Two patrolmen reported that 20-40 rounds of ammunition were fired at them by youths as they drove past the Peter Claver Center.

5 Aug. Los Angeles, Calif. A policeman stopped a car for wanted check and four men opened fire wounding a policeman. The policeman returned fire and killed three of the men.

5 Aug. Chicago, Ill. The North Shore Foundry was firebombed.

6 Aug. Dalton, Ill. An unidentified individual fired nine shots into a police car. No injuries were reported.

6 Aug. Harvey, Ill. Five shots were fired from a mob wounding five policemen. Later two policemen were wounded by snipers.

6 Aug. Lexington, Ky. Four sticks of dynamite were used in an attempted bombing of the Fayette County Police Department.

6 Aug. York, Pa. Sniper fire injured two policemen during a three-day violence spree.

7 Aug. Inkster, Mich. Shots fired from a car slightly wounded two policemen. One Michigan State Police Officer was fatally shot.

7 Aug. Jackson, Mich. Shots were fired at a police car. No injuries reported.

9 Aug. Little Rock, Ark. One policeman was injured by rocks and a National Guardsman was shot by sniper fire. One civilian also was injured.

11 Aug. Chicago Heights, Ill. Police were sniped at when they responded to a call of fires in the area.

11 Aug. East Chicago Heights, Ill. A police officer was hit by a shotgun blast.

12 Aug. Little Rock, Ark. An unknown person fired at a police car. No injuries were reported.

12 Aug. St. Bernard Parish, La. Deputy Sheriff fired at with shotgun by unknown person.

12 Aug. West Helena, Ark. The home of an auxiliary police officer was firebombed causing minor damage.

12 Aug. Little Rock, Ark. Firebombing and gunfire killed a policeman. No damage was reported.

12 Aug. Los Angeles, Calif. Police suffered two injuries during the Watts riets.

13 Aug. Los Angeles, Calif. Five policemen were injured during the rioting.

17 Aug. St. Petersburg, Fla. A crowd of 450 at a dance hall threw bricks and bottles. Snipers fired at police with tear gas machine gun. Total damage was $150,000 to the area's businesses.

17 Aug. Waterloo, Iowa. Police cars were hit by six shots fired by a sniper.

20 Aug. Wichita, Kan. Three policemen were injured by gunfire.

20 Aug. New York, N.Y. A bomb went off in the Marine Midland Building and injured 15 people. No damage was reported.

21 Aug. Brooklyn, N.Y. Two policemen were injured when a crowd threw rocks at a police car.

22 Aug. Detroit, Mich. The Army Recruiting Office was firebombed after two youths were seen driving to the back of the building. No damages were reported.

24 Aug. Evansville, Ind. A policeman was shot in the back by a sniper.

24 Aug. Memphis, Tenn. Three rounds from a .30 caliber rifle fired through door of police car, officer shot in leg.

24 Aug. Voluntown, Conn. A group, all armed and carrying flammables, opened fire on police. Five civilians and one policeman were injured.

26 Aug. Oakland, Calif. An arson fire was set in the Police Information Center in East Oakland. No damages were reported.

28 Aug. Chicago, Ill. A police car was fired upon by an unknown sniper. One officer was injured by flying glass.

29 Aug. San Francisco, Calif. The Hunters Point Police Station was fired upon from one or more of three cars.

30 Aug. Berkeley, Calif. Five shots were fired and two policemen wounded in confrontation. Ten arrests were made.

30 Aug. St. Paul, Minn. Two off-duty policemen took guns from a youth at a dance and then the officers were attacked by a large group. An unknown person shot at officers, wounding one. Later on, in the early morning hours, officers were struck by sniper shots.

30 Aug. Detroit, Mich. A police car was dynamited outside the Woodward Police Station. No injuries were reported.

31 Aug. San Francisco, Calif. A shotgun was fired into the Hunters Point Housing Authority Police Station.

1 Sept. Newport News, Va. An officer was surrounded by a crowd and beaten by a man who took his gun and fired at another policeman. Disorder followed and buildings were destroyed. $2 million damage was reported.

1 Sept. Ann Arbor, Mich. The CIA building was bombed. No damage was reported.

1 Sept. St. Paul, Minn. Firebombs and gunfire injured two policemen.

3 Sept. Macomb, Mich. Two Selective Service offices were blasted by bombs. There were no injuries.

3 Sept. Oakland, Calif. The Oakland Hall of Justice, headquarters of the Oakland police, was bombed.

4 Sept. Seattle, Wash. A police car responding to a call was fired upon from both sides by snipers.

4 Sept. Long Beach, Calif. A substation of the Southern California Edison Company was bombed.

6 Sept. Elmhurst, Mich. The private cars of police were dynamited.

10 Sept. Detroit, Mich. Police cars parked at the Woodward Station were dynamited.

10 Sept. Detroit, Mich. An Army recruiting car was dynamited as well as a policeman's private car.

10 Sept. Oakland, Calif. An Army recruiting car was dynamited by a passing car, the second bombing in 24 hours, the fourth in 12 days.

10 Sept. Van Nuys, Calif. Five heavy Army trucks were dynamited.

10 Sept. Berkeley, Calif. A three-alarm blaze that caused $25,000 damage broke out in a 94-unit ticky-tacky under construction.

12 Sept. Crown Heights, N.Y. A sniper fired three times on a police car at the same spot where two other policemen were sniped at on August 2nd.

13 Sept. San Francisco, Calif. A Highway Patrol car was sniped at, but no injuries were reported.

20 Sept. Santa Rita, Calif. $100,000 in damage was caused by fire to the Job Corps Center Warehouse adjoining the Alameda jail. The facility was used for training prisoners. Five fires had been set in one night.

20 Sept. Chicago, Ill. One worker at the Illinois Bell Telephone Company died when the building was bombed.

25 Sept. Milwaukee, Wis. Arson at the Selective Service office caused extensive damage. Many draft files were burned in protest over the Vietnam War.

29 Sept. Ann Arbor, Mich. Dynamite exploded in front of the CIA recruiting office, destroying the front of the building and shattering windows in nearby buildings. It was one in a series of bombings against government installations.

30 Sept. Huntington, Md. The Wallace for President headquarters was firebombed.

30 Sept. Kankakee, Ill. One policeman was injured in sniper fire.

2 Oct. Oakland, Calif. A bomb exploded in the restroom of an Oakland Police Department. No injuries were reported and damage was minor.

2 Oct. Washington, D.C. A firebomb caused $1000 in damages to the Selective Service Headquarters located one block from the White House. A flammable liquid was poured into the basement and then it was firebombed.

6 Oct. Seattle, Wash. An unidentified person fired a shotgun at a police patrol car and two officers were injured.

9 Oct. Norfolk, Va. The window of a police van was shot out by a sniper while an officer was patrolling.

13 Oct. Brooklyn, N.Y. Three patrolmen were shot at by unknown snipers.

14 Oct. Seattle, Wash. A police car was sniped at by two shots.

14 Oct. Ann Arbor, Mich. The University of Michigan's Institute of Science and Technology was dynamited. The facility is used for government research.

17 Oct. Miami, Fla. A police paddy wagon was shot at by a snuper.

17 Oct. Detroit, Mich. The home of a policeman was dynamited causing extensive damage.

22 Oct. Washington, D.C. A Molotov cocktail thrown into a Safeway store caused $46,000 in damages.

24 Oct. Marin City, Calif. Juveniles were observed placing dynamite under a Sheriff's Office substation. The dynamite was defused before it exploded.

24 Oct. San Diego, Calif. A police car was shot at. No injuries reported.

27 Oct. San Francisco, Calif. A bomb detonated at the Richmond District Police Station. The facade of the building was damaged. No injuries reported.

28 Oct. Oakland, Calif. A bomb exploded in the parking lot of the Highway Patrol and damaged three personal cars. No injuries reported.

29 Oct. Wilmington, Del. Two FBI agents were assaulted while escorting an apprehended deserter to an automobile. The agents were beaten, requiring hospitalization. Their guns were taken and the deserter allowed to escape.

29 Oct. San Francisco, Calif. Dynamite blew a three-foot hole in the Richmond District Police station and destroyed a police car. It was one in a series of well organized attacks against the police over a three-day period.

12 Nov. New York, N.Y. A bomb exploded outside the 25th Precinct police station.

13 Nov. Berkeley, Calif. A policeman was wounded by shots fired by an unidentified man.

14 Nov. Houston, Tex. Four boys threw a hand grenade into a police car, but it did not explode.

16 Nov. St. Louis, Mo. Four shots were fired into the 9th District Police Department. No injuries reported.

19 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Three policemen were wounded, two critically, in a gun shootout with suspects identified as fleeing from $80 gas station robbery.

20 Nov. San Francisco, Calif. Shots were exchanged when police stopped a truck. One policeman was seriously injured.

22 Nov. Los Angeles, Calif. Three firebombs thrown into a parole office caused $1000 damage.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

October 1966
Black Panther Party
Platform and Program



What We Want
What We Believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

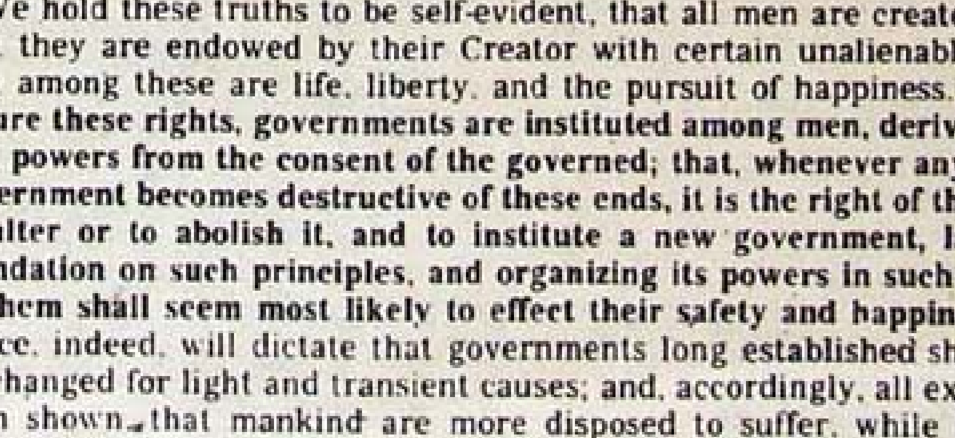
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**



TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY ARTISTS

I would like to take this time to express on behalf of the Black Panther Party our warmest thanks to all revolutionary artists who have given their talents and thoughts to the people through revolutionary art. We would like to say that every artist's work that has appeared in the Black Panther Newspaper this past year has been a great contribution of visual interpretation of the ideology of the Black Panther Party and of the oppressed people of the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS
Emory Douglas
Minister of Culture
Black Panther Party

